A

PHILOSOPHICAL AND POLITICAL

HISTORY

OF THE

SETTLEMENTS AND TRADE

OF THE

EUROPEANS

IN THE

EAST AND WEST INDIES.

TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH

BY J. JUSTAMOND, M. A.

VOLUME THE SECOND.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR T. CADELL, IN THE STRAND.

M DCC. LXXVI.

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MUSEUM
BRITANNICUM

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HISTORY OF THE SETTLEMENTS AND TRADE OF THE EUROPEANS IN THE EAST AND WEST INDIES.

BOOK V.

Trade of Denmark, Ostend, Sweden, Prussia, Spain, and Russia, to the East Indies. Some important inquiries concerning the connections of Europe with the Indies.

BOOK V.

Antient revolutions in Denmark.

IT is the general opinion, that in the earliest times, a people called the Cimbri possessed, at the extremity of Germania, the Cimbrian Chersonesus, now known by the name of Holstein, Sleswic and Jutland; and that the Teutones lived in the adjacent islands. Whether these people had or had not the same origin, certain it is, that they came out of their forests or fens together in a body, and as one nation, and penetrated among the Gauls, in quest of booty, glory, and a milder climate. They were even preparing to cross the Alps, when Rome thought it was proper to stem a torrent which carried all before it. Those barbarians triumphed over all the generals, that proud republic sent

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to oppose them, till that memorable era when they were totally defeated by Marius.

THEIR country, which became almost a desart after that terrible catastrophe, was peopled again by the Scythians, who, being driven by Pompey out of that vast space between the Euxine and the Caspian sea, marched towards the north and west of Europe, subduing all the nations they found in their way. They enslaved Russia, Saxony, Westphalia, the Cimbrian Chersonesus, and the countries as far as Finland, Norway and Sweden. It is pretended that Wodin their leader traversed so many countries, and sought to subdue them, only with a view to excite the people against the formidable, odious and tyrannical power of the Romans. That animosity, which at the time of his death he had raised in the north, fermented so strongly in secret, that some centuries after, all nations with one accord fell upon that empire, the enemy to all liberty, and had the satisfaction of subverting it, having first weakened it by repeated concussions.

DENMARK and Norway remained without inhabitants after these glorious expeditions. They gradually and quietly recovered, and were first taken notice of again, towards the beginning of the eighth century. Their valour now exerted itself, not on land, but on the ocean. Surrounded as they were by two seas, they commenced pirates, which is always the first step towards navigation in uncivilized nations.

THEY first made trial of their strength against the neighbouring states, and seized the few merchant ships they found sailing up and down the Baltic. Emboldened by these successes, they were enabled to plan more considerable undertakings. They infested the seas and coasts of Scotland, Ireland, England, Flanders, France, and even Spain, Italy and Greece. They frequently penetrated into the inland parts of those vast countries,

and even ventured upon the conqueſt of Normandy and England. Notwithſtanding the confuſion that reigns in the annals of thoſe barbarous times, we may ſtill trace ſome of the cauſes of ſo many ſtrange events. BOOK V.

THE people of Denmark and Norway had originally a ſtrong propenſity to piracy, which has always been obſerved in people bordering upon the ſea, when they are not reſtrained by civilization and good laws. Cuſtom muſt neceſſarily have made the ocean familiar to them, and inured them to its ſtorms. Having no agriculture, breeding but few cattle, and finding but a ſcanty reſource in hunting, in a country covered with ice and ſnow, they could have no ſtrong attachment to their own territories. The facility with which they built their ſhips, which were nothing more than rafts, clumſily put together for ſailing along the coaſts, afforded them the means of an eaſy acceſs to all parts, and enabled them to make deſcents, to plunder, and to reimbark. Piracy was to them what it had been to the firſt heroes of Greece, the road to glory and fortune; the profeſſion of honour, which conſiſted in a contempt of all danger. This idea inſpired them with invincible courage in their expeditions, ſometimes under the joint command of different chiefs, and ſometimes divided into as many armaments as nations. Theſe ſudden attacks, made in a variety of places at once, left to the inhabitants of the coaſts, who were but ill defended, becauſe they were ill governed, only the ſad alternative of being maſſacred, or giving up their all to redeem their lives.

THIS deſtructive character was a natural conſequence of the ſavage life of the Danes and Norwegians, and of the rough and military education they received; but it was more particularly the effect of the religion of Wodin. That victorious impoſtor, improved, if we may be allowed to ſay ſo, the natural fierceneſs of thoſe nations by his ſanguinary doctrines. He would have all

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the implements of war deified, such as swords, axes, and lances. The most sacred engagements were confirmed by these precious instruments. A lance set up in the middle of a plain, was the signal for prayer and sacrifice. Wodin himself at his death was ranked amongst the immortal gods, and was the first deity of those horrid regions, where the rocks and woods were stained and consecrated with human blood. His followers thought they honoured him by calling him the God of armies, the father of slaughter, the depopulator, the incendiary. The warriors, when they went to battle, made a vow to send him a certain number of souls that they devoted to him. These souls were the right of Wodin. It was the general belief, that that God appeared in every battle, either to protect those who fought valiantly, or to mark out the happy victims he chose for himself. That these followed him to the regions of bliss, which were open to none but warriors. The people ran to death, as to martyrdom, to obtain this reward. This belief increased their natural propensity to war, till it grew to enthusiasm, and to a holy thirst for blood.

CHRISTIANITY overthrew all the ideas resulting from such a system. The missionaries endeavoured to bring the proselytes to a sedentary life, that they might be fit to receive their instructions. They disgusted them of their roving life, by suggesting other means of subsistence. They were so happy as to inspire them with a love of agriculture, and still more of fishing. The great plenty of herrings which then flocked to their coasts, afforded them an easy means of procuring food. The overplus of this fish, they soon learnt to barter for the salt they wanted to cure the rest. These growing connections were encouraged by one common faith, new prospects, mutual wants, and great safety. This made such a total revolution, that since the conversion of the

Danes and Norwegians, not a ſingle inſtance is to be found in hiſtory, of their expeditions and depredations.

THE new ſpirit which ſeemed to animate Norway and Denmark, could not fail of extending their communication more and more with the other nations of Europe. Unfortunately it was intercepted by the aſcendant of the Hanſe towns. Even when that great and ſingular confederacy fell to decay, Hamburgh ſtill maintained the ſuperiority it had acquired over all the ſubjects of the Daniſh dominions. They were beginning to break the bands that had ſubjected them to this kind of monopoly, when they were induced to undertake the navigation to the Eaſt Indies, by an incident that deſerves to be taken notice of.

Denmark undertakes the trade of the Indies.

A DUTCH factor, named Boſchower, being ſent by his nation to conclude a treaty of commerce with the king of Ceylon, ſo ingratiated himſelf with that monarch, that he became chief of his council, his admiral, and was created prince of Mingone. Boſchower, intoxicated with theſe honours, haſtened to Europe, to make a parade of them to his countrymen. He took great offence at the coldneſs with which thoſe republicans received the titled ſlave of an Aſiatic court; and was ſo highly provoked at it, that he went over to Chriſtiern IV. king of Denmark, and offered him his ſervices, and the intereſt he had at Ceylon. His propoſals were accepted. He ſailed in 1618, with ſix ſhips, three of which belonged to the government, and three to the company that had aſſociated to undertake the trade of the Indies. His death, which happened in their paſſage, put an end to the hopes they had conceived. The Danes met with a very bad reception at Ceylon, and their chief, Ové Giedde de Tommerup, ſaw no other reſource than to carry them to Tanjour, the neareſt part of the continent.

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TANJOUR is a small state, which is but a hundred miles in its greatest length, and eighty in its greatest breadth. It is of all that coast the province that bears the greatest quantity of rice. By means of this natural wealth, of a great many common manufactures, and plenty of roots used for dying, the public revenue amounts to near five millions [a]. Its fertility is owing to its being watered by the Caveri, a river which comes down from the mountains of Gate. At upwards of 400 miles from the head, it divides in two streams. At the entrance of Tanjour, the eastern branch takes the name of Coleroon. The other retains the name of Caveri, and subdivides again into four branches, which all flow within the kingdom, and preserve it from that horrible drought which burns up the rest of Coromandel for the greatest part of the year.

THIS happy situation made the Danes wish to settle a colony in Tanjour. Their proposals met with a favourable reception. They obtained a fruitful and populous territory, on which they built Tranquebar, and afterwards the fortress of Dannebourg, sufficient for the defence both of the road and the town. On their side they engaged to pay an annual homage of 16,500 livres [b], which is paid to this day.

CIRCUMSTANCES were favourable for opening a large trade. The Portuguese, who groaned under the oppression of a foreign yoke, struggled but faintly to preserve their possessions. The Spaniards sent no ships but to the Molucca and Philippine islands. The Dutch thought of nothing but engrossing the spice trade. The English felt the effects of the disturbances of their country, even in the Indies. All these powers could not see this new rival without regret, but none opposed it.

THENCE it happened that the Danes, who set out with a capital of no more than 853,263 livres [c], carried

a 218,750 l. b About 722 l. c About 37,330 l.

on

on a pretty conſiderable trade in all parts of the Indies. Unhappily the Dutch company acquired ſuch a ſuperiority, as to exclude them from the markets where they had dealt to the beſt advantage; and what was ſtill more unfortunate, the diſſentions that rent the north of Europe, would not permit the mother country to attend to ſuch remote concerns as thoſe of this colony. The Danes of Tranquebar inſenſibly fell into contempt, both with the natives, who value men only in proportion to their riches, and with rival nations, whoſe competition they could not ſuſtain. They were diſcouraged by this inferiority, and the company gave up their charter, and made over their ſettlements to the government, as an indemnification for the ſums they had advanced.

A new ſociety was formed in 1670 upon the ruins of the old one. Chriſtiern V. made them a preſent, in ſhips and other effects, valued at 310,828 livres, 10 ſous [a], and the adventurers advanced 732,600 livres [b]. This ſecond undertaking, which was entered upon without a ſufficient fund, proved ſtill more unfortunate than the firſt. After a few voyages, the factory of Tranquebar was left to ſhift for itſelf. All they had to ſubſiſt the inhabitants, and their ſmall garriſon, was their little territory and two veſſels that they freighted for the merchants of that country. Even theſe reſources failed them ſometimes; and to ſave themſelves from ſtarving, they were reduced to mortgage three of the four baſtions that conſtituted their fortreſs. They were hardly in a condition to fit out a ſhip for Europe once in three years, with a very moderate cargo.

Changes the Daniſh trade has undergone in India.

Pity ſeemed to be the only ſentiment that ſo deſperate a ſituation could inſpire. Yet jealouſy which never ſleeps, and avarice which is alarmed at every trifle, ſtirred up an odious war againſt the Danes. The

[a] 13,598l. 14s. 11d. ½. [b] 32,051l. 5s.

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Raja of Tanjour, who had several times cut off their communication with his territory, attacked them in 1689, in the very town of Tranquebar, at the instigation of the Dutch. That prince was on the point of taking the place, after a six months siege, when it was succoured and saved by the English. This event neither was, nor could be attended with any important consequences. The Danish company continued in a languid state. It drooped every day more and more, and at last expired in 1730.

FROM its ashes sprang up another two years after, which still subsists. The favours that were heaped upon them, to enable them to trade with oeconomy and freedom, plainly shew of what importance this commerce appeared to their government. Their charter is settled for forty years. Whatever belongs to the armament and equipping of their ships, is exempted from all duties. The workmen they employ, whether natives or foreigners, are not tied down to the regulations of a company, which are a restraint upon industry in Denmark, as well as in other countries in Europe. They are dispensed from using stampt paper in their business. They have an absolute jurisdiction over the persons they employ; and the sentences passed by the directors are not liable to be reversed, unless the punishment is capital. To remove even the shadow of constraint, the sovereign has renounced the right he ought to have of interfering in the administration, as being chief proprietor. He has no influence in the choice of officers, whether civil or military, and has only reserved a power of confirming the office of governor of Tranquebar. He has even bound himself to ratify all political conventions they might think proper to make with the Asiatic powers.

IN return for so many indulgences, government has only required one per cent. upon all merchandise of India and China which should be sent abroad, and two

and

and a half per cent. upon all that ſhould be conſumed at home. BOOK V.

This grant, containing the above conditions, was no ſooner made out, than adventurers were ſought for. To engage them the more eaſily, they diſtinguiſhed two different kinds of ſtock. The one was called *fixed*, and was appropriated to the acquiſition of all the effects which the old company had in Europe and Aſia. They called the other *variable*, becauſe every year it was regulated by the number, the lading and the expence of the ſhips they think proper to ſend abroad. Every proprietor may chuſe whether he will or will not be concerned in theſe armaments, which are liquidated at the cloſe of every voyage. If any one ſhould decline being concerned, which has never yet been the caſe, his venture would be offered to another. By this arrangement, the company became permanent by the *fixed*, and annual by the *variable* ſtock.

It ſeemed a difficult matter to ſtate the ſhare of expence, that each of theſe funds was to bear. Every thing was ſettled with more eaſe than was expected. It was agreed that the *variable* ſhould pay nothing but the neceſſary expences for the purchaſe, the fitting out, and the cargoes of the ſhips. All beſides was the buſineſs of the *fixed* ſtock, which, by way of compenſation, was to take up ten per cent. upon all India goods which ſhould be ſold in Europe, and five per cent. upon all that ſhould be ſent out from Tranquebar. This continual addition to the *fixed* ſtock has ſo increaſed the capital, that inſtead of four hundred ſhares at 1125 livres, which was the original ſtock of the company, it now conſiſts of ſixteen hundred ſhares at 1687 l. 10 ſ. It was ſettled at this number in 1755, and ever ſince, the duties which went to the increaſe of the *fixed* ſtock, has

£ 491. 4 s. 4 d. ½. £ 731. 16 s. 1 d. ½.

been

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been applied to the increasing of the dividend, which till then had been taken upon the profits of the *variable* stock.

Every proprietor, though but of a single share, has a vote at the general meetings. A proprietor of three shares has two votes; a proprietor of five has three votes, and so on in the same proportion to twenty shares, which entitles the owner to twelve votes, but there the matter ends.

Some alteration has been made in these regulations in 1709, when the charter was renewed for twenty years. It has been stipulated that no one member of the company shall at any time have more than three votes, and that none shall be allowed to give his vote in writing or by proxy.

State of the Danish trade, in the Indies.

Denmark trades to the same parts of Asia as other European nations. The pepper they fetch from Malabar does not exceed sixty thousand weight a year upon an average.

One would be apt to think from every circumstance that their trade must be brisk on the coast of Coromandel. They are in possession of an excellent territory; though it is but two leagues in circumference, the population amounts to thirty thousand souls. About ten thousand live in the town of Tranquebar. There are twelve thousand in a large village, where they work at ordinary manufactures. The rest are usefully employed in some lesser villages. Three hundred Danes, fifty of whom compose the garrison, are the only Europeans in the colony. Their maintenance costs but 96000 livres [h] a year, which is the income of the possession, or thereabouts.

This company give but little employment to their factors. They only send them two ships once in three years; and those ships carry in all but 1800 bales of ordinary cotton, which do not cost above 1,500,000 livres [i].

[h] 4,200l. [i] 65,625l.

The

The factors themselves do not know how to improve the leisure they enjoy, to advance their own private fortune. They can think of no other way than lending the small capital they have at their disposal to Indian merchants at a high interest. And indeed Tranquebar, though an antient settlement, has not that appearance of life and opulence which is observable in more modern colonies, which have been managed with spirit and skill. The French, driven out of their own settlements, had somewhat enlivened Tranquebar, but when they left it, the colony fell again into the same languid state as before. Yet the situation of the Danes in Coromandel, is not so bad as at Bengal.

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Soon after their arrival in Asia, they displayed their flag on the Ganges. Their ill success soon obliged them to quit it, and they never appeared there again till 1755. Commercial jealousy, which is become the ruling passion of our age, has frustrated their views upon Bankibazar, and they have been reduced to fix in the neighbourhood of that place. The French, who alone had supported the new factory, found a refuge there, in the calamities of the last war, and all the assistance of friendship and gratitude. Few ships come thither directly from Europe. Since 1757 there have been but two, both their cargoes together had cost but 2,160,000 livres [a] at home.

This trade to China being less tedious, and less liable to meet with obstacles, the Danish company has pursued it more warmly than either that to the Ganges or to Coromandel, which require a previous stock. They send a large ship every year, and oftener two. The teas, which were their chief return, were mostly consumed in England. The acquisition that kingdom has made of the Isle of Man, which was the staple for that contraband

[a] 94,500l.

trade,

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trade, by depriving the Danes of that market, muſt neceſſarily leſſen their dealings with China.

THE annual ſales of the company now amount to 6,500,000 livres[1]. It is not likely they ſhould be carried much higher. We know their armaments are eaſily made and at a trifling expence. Their ſailors, though not ſo bold as thoſe of ſome other nations, have prudence and experience. The iron they ſend to the Indies is found in the mines of Norway. Government pays them a very good price for the ſaltpetre they oblige them to bring home. The national manufactures are neither ſo numerous nor ſo much favoured as to be any hindrance to their ſales. They can eaſily diſpoſe of their goods all over the North, and in ſome part of Germany. They have good laws, and their whole conduct deſerves the higheſt encomiums. There is not perhaps any adminiſtration to compare to that of this company for honeſty and œconomy.

Eſtabliſhment of an Indian company at Oſtend.

NOTWITHSTANDING all theſe advantages, the Daniſh company will always be drooping. The conſumption of their commodities will never be very great, in a region which nature has doomed to poverty, and which induſtry itſelf cannot enrich. The mother country is neither populous, nor powerful enough to afford them the means of extending their commerce. Their capital is ſmall, and will always remain ſo. Foreigners will not truſt their money in the hands of a body which is under the controul of arbitrary power in an abſolute monarchy. With an adminiſtration that would do honour to the beſt conſtituted republic, they muſt ſuffer all the hardſhips of ſlavery. A deſpotic government, with the beſt intentions in the world, can never be powerful enough to do good. It begins by taking from the ſubjects that free exerciſe of their will which is the very ſoul and ſpring

[1] 284,375l.

of

of nations; and when it has broke this ſpring, it can never reſtore it again. It is mutual confidence that binds men together, unites their intereſts, and makes buſineſs go on. Whereas, arbitrary power abſolutely excludes all confidence, becauſe it abſolutely excludes all ſafety.

THE project formed in 1728, of removing the ſeat of the company from Copenhagen to Altena, could not remedy theſe inconveniences. Indeed the ſhips would have been ſent off more eaſily, and would not have been expoſed to the danger of miſſing their voyage, by being froſt bound, as they are ſometimes in the ſound; but we cannot agree with the authors of the ſcheme, that the vicinity would have induced the Hamburghers to place their capitals on an adventure which they always diſlike. So that we may boldly affirm that England and Holland were guilty of a needleſs act of tyranny, when they oppoſed this domeſtic plan of a free and independent power. Their uneaſineſs about Oſtend was better grounded.

Eſtabliſhment of an India company at Oſtend.

A NATURAL knowledge of trade and adminiſtration, and that ſound philoſophy, which inſenſibly gained ground all over Europe, met with invincible obſtacles in ſome monarchies. They could not penetrate to the court of Vienna, which was wholly intent upon projects of war, and aggrandizement by conqueſts. The Engliſh and Dutch, whoſe attention was engaged in preventing France from increaſing her commerce, her colonies and her navy, ſtirred up enemies againſt her on the continent, and laviſhed immenſe ſums upon the houſe of Auſtria, which were employed againſt France: but, at the peace, the luxury of one crown reſtored more riches to the other, than it had taken from it by the war.

AUSTRIAN power which ought to be formidable, from the extent of its dominions, is confined by reaſon of its ſituation; for moſt of its provinces are diſtant from the ſea.

Its

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Its lands produce but little wine, and few things that other nations are choice of. It affords neither oil, silk, nor fine wool. It had no pretensions to opulence, and knew not how to be frugal. With the usual luxury and pomp of great courts, it gave no encouragement to industry and manufactures, which might have supplied the means of indulging that expensive taste. The contempt in which it has always held the sciences, stopped its progress in every thing. Artists will never be eminent but in any country where they are not aided by men of learning. Sciences and arts must both droop, wherever a freedom of thinking is not allowed. The pride and intolerant spirit of the house of Austria, kept her vast domains poor, superstitious, and fond of a barbarous kind of luxury.

Even the low countries, formerly so famous for their activity and industry, retained nothing of their ancient splendor. Not a single ship was to be seen in the harbour of Antwerp; it was no longer the storehouse of the north, as it had been for two centuries past. Brussels and Louvain, far from supplying other nations with their clothing, bought their own of the English. That precious article, the herring fishery, had passed from Bruges to Holland. Ghent, Courtray, and some other towns, found their linen and lace manufactures decrease daily. Those provinces, placed between the three most enlightened and most trading nations in Europe, had not been able, notwithstanding their natural advantages, to bear up against such a competition. After striving some time against oppression, against impediments, multiplied by ignorance, and against the privileges which a rapacious neighbour extorted from the continual wants of government, they were totally fallen to decay.

Prince Eugene, as great a statesman as a warrior, with a mind superior to every prejudice, had been long in search of the means of enriching a power whose boundaries he had so greatly enlarged; when a proposal was made to him,

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Man, of eſtabliſhing an India company at Oſtend. The firſt contrivers of this ſcheme had very extenſive views. They pretended that if it could be brought to bear, it would excite induſtry throughout the Auſtrian dominions, would give them a navy, one part of which would be in the Netherlands, and the other at Fiume and Trieſte, would deliver that Power from the dependence ſhe was ſtill in on the ſubſidies of England and Holland, and make her formidable to the coaſts of Turkey, and to the very city of Conſtantinople.

THE able miniſter to whom this was addreſſed, was very ſenſible of the value of ſuch overtures, however he would not be too haſty. To accuſtom his own court and all Europe to this novelty, he choſe to ſend out two ſhips to India in 1717, with none but his own paſſports. Their voyage was ſo ſucceſsful, that more were ſent out the following years. Every expedition proved fortunate; and in 1722 the court of Vienna thought it was time to ſecure the property of the adventurers, who were for the moſt part Engliſh and Dutch, by the fulleſt charter that ever was granted.

THE new company, who had a capital of twenty millions, divided into ten thouſand ſhares, appeared with great luſtre in all the markets in India. They made two ſettlements, that of Coblom, between Madraſs and Sadraſpatnam on the coaſt of Coromandel, and that of Bankibaar on the Ganges. They even intended to procure a place to put in at for refreſhments, and had caſt their eye upon Madagaſcar for that purpoſe. They were ſo happy in the choice of their agents, that they could rely upon them for the care of their concerns, as they had ſhewn reſolution enough to ſurmount every obſtacle that jealouſy had thrown in their way, and ſkill enough to extricate themſelves from all the ſnares that had been laid for them. The richneſs of their returns, and the reputation of their ſtock, which brought in fifteen per cent.

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cent. ſtill increaſed their confidence. It is not to be ſuppoſed they would have been diſappointed of their expectations, had not their operations been thwarted by political intereſts. To give a clear idea of the reaſons of this policy, we muſt take up the matter farther back.

Cauſes of the deſtruction of the company at Oſtend.

WHEN Iſabella had ſent to diſcover America, and to penetrate as far as the Phillippine iſlands, Europe was ſo plunged in ignorance, that it was thought proper to prohibit the navigation to the Eaſt and Weſt Indies, to all ſubjects of Spain who were not natives of Caſtile. That part of the low countries which had not recovered its liberty, having been given in 1598 to the Infanta Iſabella, on her marriage with the archduke Albert, the new ſovereigns were required to make a formal renunciation of this trade. When theſe provinces were again united to the monarchy in 1638, that circumſtance made no alteration in this odious ſtipulation. The Flemings, juſtly offended at being abridged of the right which nature gives to all people, of trading wherever other nations are not lawfully entitled to an excluſive privilege, complained loudly of this impoſition. They were ſeconded by their governor the cardinal Infant, who obtained a deciſion, that they ſhould be allowed to trade to the Eaſt Indies. The act for this purpoſe was not yet iſſued, when Portugal ſhook off the yoke under which it had ſo long been oppreſſed. The fear of increaſing the diſcontent of the Portugueſe, whom they hoped to bring back, prevented the Spaniards from giving them a new rival in Aſia, and protracted the concluſion of this important affair. It was not at an end, when it was ſettled at Munſter in 1648, that the ſubjects of the king of Spain ſhould never extend their trade in the Indies, more than it was at that period. This act ought not to have been leſs binding to the emperor than it was to the court of Madrid, ſince he poſſeſſes the low countries on the ſame terms, and with

with the ſame obligations they were ſubject to, when under the dominion of Spain. BOOK V.

Thus reaſoned Holland and England, to compaſs the ſuppreſſion of the new company, whoſe ſucceſs gave them great uneaſineſs. Thoſe two allies, who by their maritime forces could have annihilated Oſtend and its trade, did not chuſe to quarrel with a power which they themſelves had raiſed, and which they thought they ſtood in need of againſt the houſe of Bourbon. So that though they were determined not to ſuffer the houſe of Auſtria to dip into the fountain of their riches, they contented themſelves with making remonſtrances on the violation of the moſt ſolemn engagements. They were ſeconded by France, which had the ſame concern in the affair, and moreover was guarantee of the violated treaty.

The emperor paid no regard to theſe repreſentations. He was ſupported in his undertaking by the obſtinacy of his own diſpoſition, by the ambitious proſpects that had been ſuggeſted to him, and by the great privileges, and indulgences, granted by Spain to the merchants reſiding in his dominions. That crown was then in hopes of obtaining the heireſs of the houſe of Auſtria for Don Carlos, and thought no conceſſions too great for ſuch an alliance. The union of thoſe two courts, which had always been conſidered as irreconcileable, alarmed all Europe. Every nation thought itſelf in danger. Numberleſs leagues were formed, and many treaties concluded, to endeavour to break that harmony, which was thought to be more dangerous than it really was. All was to no purpoſe, till the council of Madrid, having no more treaſures to laviſh upon Germany, were convinced that they were purſuing a phantom. Auſtria was not diſmayed at the defection of her ally, and ſeemed determined to aſſert her claims, and eſpecially her commercial intereſts. Whether the maritime powers were intimidated by this ſteadineſs, or whether, as was more probably the

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eaſe, they only conſulted the dictates of ſound policy, they determined to guarantee the pragmatic ſanction in 1727. The court of Vienna paid this important ſervice, by ſacrificing the Oſtend company.

Though the public acts mention only a ſuſpenſion for ſeven years, the proprietors plainly ſaw that their ruin was determined, and that this ſtipulation was only inſerted as a ſalvo to the imperial dignity. They had too good an opinion of the court of London and the ſtates general, to ſuppoſe they would have ſecured the indiviſibility of the Auſtrian dominions for a mere momentary advantage. This perſuaſion determined them to think no more of Oſtend, and to diſpoſe of their ſtock ſome other way. They tried ſucceſſively to ſettle at Hamburgh, at Trieſte and in Tuſcany, but all their endeavours proved abortive. Thoſe ſucceeded beſt who made choice of Sweden.

General ſketch of the ancient Government of Sweden.

Sweden, whoſe inhabitants, known by the name of Goths, had contributed to the ſubverſion of the Roman empire, after ruſhing like a torrent, ſhrank back into its own deſarts, and ſank into its former obſcurity. Their domeſtic conteſts, as ſharp as they were conſtant, left them no time to think of foreign wars, or to unite their intereſts with thoſe of other nations. They had unfortunately the worſt of all conſtitutions, that in which authority is ſo divided, as that neither of the federal powers knows exactly what degree falls to its ſhare. The claims of the king, the clergy, the nobility, the cities and the peaſants, make ſuch a confuſion, as would a thouſand times have proved the ruin of the kingdom, if their neighbours had not laboured under the ſame grievances. Guſtavus Vaſa put an end to that anarchy, by uniting the greater part of thoſe powers in his own perſon; but he plunged the ſtate into another calamity, full as fatal as the former.

That

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THAT nation, which seemed to be designed by nature for navigation, as it is possessed of extensive sea coasts, excellent harbours, timber for ship building, iron and copper mines, and all the other materials requisite for a navy, had given it up when they grew weary of piracy. The people of Lubeck fetched away what they had to spare, and brought them salt, stuffs, and whatever they wanted from abroad. No ships were seen in their roads but the vessels of that republic, or any warehouses in their towns but what belonged to them.

THE haughty soul of Gustavus could not brook this dependence. He was determined to break the hands that cramped the industry of his subjects, but he set about it too hastily. He shut his harbours against the people of Lubeck, before he had built any ships or trained up any merchants. This put an end at once to all intercourse between his subjects and other nations; and such a total stagnation of business proved fatal to agriculture, that first of arts in all countries, and the only one then known in Sweden. The fields lay fallow, when once the husbandman had not new those incessant and repeated demands, which till then had been a spur to his industry. Some English and Dutch ships, which arrived there now and then, had not yet roused the old emulation, when Gustavus Adolphus ascended the throne.

HE signalized the first years of his reign by making useful alterations. Rural labours were revived; the works went on better in the mines; companies were set on foot to trade to Persia and the East Indies; the foundations of a new colony were laid on the coast of North America; the Swedish flag was seen in all the seas of Europe, carrying copper, iron, wood, tallow, tar, hides, butter, corn, fish and furs; and bringing home wine, brandy, salt, spice and all sorts of stuffs.

THIS prosperity was but momentary. The wars of the great Gustavus in Germany, soon checked the growing

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ing induſtry of the Swedes. His ſucceſſors endeavoured to quicken it, but it was again deſtroyed by freſh wars, which laſted till the death of Charles XII. During that long period, the kings aimed at nothing but arbitrary power, and the genius of the nation was wholly turned to arms.

THE Swedes did not apply themſelves to uſeful purſuits, till they had loſt all their conqueſts, and till the elevation of Ruſſia left them no hopes of new ones. The ſtates of the kingdom having aboliſhed deſpotiſm, corrected the abuſes of ſo faulty an adminiſtration. The rapid tranſition from a ſtate of ſlavery to the fulleſt liberty, did not however occaſion thoſe violent concuſſions, which commonly attend ſuch revolutions. All the alterations were made upon mature deliberation. The firſt attention was paid to the moſt neceſſary profeſſions, which till then had been unnoticed, or deſpiſed. The arts of convenience, or elegance, were ſoon introduced. Several maſterly performances were publiſhed, treating of the deepeſt ſciences, and worthy to be adopted by the moſt enlightened nations. Such of the citizens as had quitted their long ruined country, returned home with the talents they had acquired. The young nobility travelled into every part of Europe where any thing was to be learnt. Order, political œconomy, and the ſeveral branches of adminiſtration, became the general topic of converſation. Whatever concerned the republic, was maturely diſcuſſed in the general aſſemblies, and freely approved or cenſured in the public writings. Informations were called in from all quarters. Foreigners who brought any invention, or any uſeful knowledge, were kindly received; and it was at that favourable juncture that the agents of the Oſtend company made their appearance.

The Swedes cultivate the India trade. Baſis on which it is founded.

A rich merchant of Stockholm, named Henry Koning, approved of their ſchemes, and procured the approbation

probation of the diet in 1731. An India company was established, with the exclusive privilege of trading beyond the cape of Good Hope. The Charter was only for fifteen years. It was not thought expedient to grant it for a longer time, both to have an early opportunity of rectifying any imperfections incident to new undertakings, and to quiet the minds of many citizens, who were averse to an undertaking which they thought improper for men accustomed to their climate. In order, as much as possible, to unite the advantages of a free trade with those of a privileged association, it was agreed that the stock should be unlimited, and that each proprietor should be at liberty to withdraw his own at the end of every voyage. As most of the adventurers were foreigners, it was thought but justice to secure a profit to the nation, by obliging them to pay the government 2250 livres [m], upon the cargo of every ship.

NOTWITHSTANDING this duty, which nearly confined their trade to China, the proprietors divided much greater profits than any other company ever did. This success determined the states, when they renewed the charter in 1746, to demand 75,000 livres [n] per ship, in lieu of the old duty. These terms were punctually complied with till 1753: then the directors, who felt the sweets of their situation, projected to make it permanent, by giving a firm consistency to the transient association that had intrusted them with the management of their affairs; and they contrived to have their scheme adopted by the assembled nation. It was not to be expected that the proprietors would so readily assent to a system that abridged them of their liberty, and was the more to be dreaded, as it had proved fatal to other companies. They were however allured by the prospect of a more regular income, instead of a dividend which had for some years varied to an incredible degree; which was either so con-

[m] 98l. 8s. 9d. [n] 3,281l. 5s.

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trived on purpose to make the project go down the better, or was a natural consequence of the fluctuation of trade. They were finally determined by the indulgence the government shewed them, in taking no more than a duty of twenty per cent. upon tea, and all other India goods which should be consumed within the kingdom, instead of the 75,000 livres [p] which had been paid for six years upon every ship. This new regulation lasted till 1760, which was the time of the expiration of the charter granted twenty years before.

THEY had not put off till that period taking measures for the renewal of the company. As early as the 7th of July 1762, a new charter was granted for twenty years longer. The conditions were more advantageous to the state, than was expected by those who had not attended to the profits of that trade. The company lent the government 1,500,000 livres [q] without interest, and 3,000,000 [r] at six per cent. The proprietors who advanced this money, were to be repaid gradually out of the drawback of 112,500 livres [s] which they engaged to pay for every ship they should send out. A duty of one fourth of the produce was laid on all such of their commodities as should be exported out of the kingdom; and such as were consumed at home were to pay the old duties, or such new ones as government should think proper to lay on them. This is the regulation that subsists ever since 1766.

THE company have fixed the center of their business at Gottenburgh, which is by far the most convenient port for their purpose. At first their stock varied from one voyage to another. It is generally believed that in 1753, it was fixed at nine millions [t], though but six were laid down. Those who are best informed, are of

[p] 3281l. 5s. [q] 65,625l. [r] 131,250l. [s] 4921l. 17s. 6d. [t] 393,750l. [u] 262,500l.

opinion

opinion that the last regulation has really brought in ten millions; but we know nothing on this important point, except from conjecture, for it never was laid before the public. As the Swedes were very little concerned in this stock, it was judged best to conceal the poverty of it, and to that end it was enacted, that any director who should divulge the names of the proprietors, or the sums they had subscribed, should be suspended, or even deposed, and irretrievably forfeit all the stock he was possessed of. This mysterious conduct is still observed. Indeed the accounts of the directory are regularly laid before twelve of the chief proprietors, who are chosen once in four years at a general meeting; but mercantile people will never consider this as a sufficient security; and will always think it strange, that a free state should have opened such a door for corruption. Secrecy, in politics, is like lying; it saves a state for a while, and is the undoing of it in the end. Neither is of any use but to wicked men.

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Though the company met with some mischances, the dividend kept up to thirty two per cent. upon an average. This whole profit was made upon sales that did not exceed six millions of livres yearly. Eleven twelfths of those goods have been exported, and what little the Swedes have consumed, they have paid for with their own commodities. The scarcity of cash, and the few resources they had, would not admit of greater luxury, as will appear if we consider the following particulars.

Present state of Sweden.

The extent of Sweden is 6000 leagues square, allowing, as they do in that country, but ten and a half to a degree. A great part of it is covered with immense lakes. The soil, which is most commonly greasy clay, is harder to till than sandy ground, but it bears more.

The prodigious snows that cover it, shelter and cherish the plants. Unfortunately the winters are so long, and the days so short, that there is but little time for the labours of the field. Besides, as the men are taller and stouter than in other countries, they require more substantial food, and in larger quantities.

From these reasons we should be apt to suspect that the population never was very great in Sweden, though it has been called the *manufactory of human kind*. Probably the numerous bands who poured out, and who under the so much dreaded name of Goths and Vandals ravaged and subdued so many regions of Europe, were no other than swarms of Scythians and Sarmatians, who came thither in a constant succession by the north of Asia. Yet it would be a mistake to suppose that, that vast country was always as thinly peopled as it is now. Some historical proofs which were laid before the states on their last meeting, convinced them that three hundred years ago, their country had more inhabitants than it has at present, though at that time they professed the catholic religion, which enjoins the monastic life, and the celibacy of the clergy. It appears from a very accurate account taken in 1760, by order of the government, that Sweden, exclusive of her German dominions which are but trifling, has actually but 2,383,113 subjects, and that in this population, there are 1,127,938 men, and 1,255,175 women. By taking the mean term, this makes 345 inhabitants to a league square. The two extremes are Gothia which has 1248, and Lapland which has but two inhabitants to a league.

The numbers would be greater in all the provinces, if they were not continually deserted by the natives, and frequently for ever. There are men in all countries, who, either out of curiosity, or from a natural restlessness, and without any determinate object, love to rove about; but this is only the malady of a few individuals,

climate, and cannot be deemed the ſtanding cauſe of a conſtant emigration. There is a natural propenſity in all men to love their own country, which is rather to be accounted for from moral, than from natural principles. An inherent fondneſs for ſociety, the ties of blood and of friendſhip, an acquaintance with the climate and language, that partiality we are ſo apt to contract for the place, the manners and the way of life we are accuſtomed to, all theſe are, to a rational being, ſo many attachments to the land in which he was born, and educated. They muſt be powerful motives that can determine him to break all theſe ties at once, and to prefer another country, where all will be ſtrange and new to him. In Sweden, where the whole power reſides in the ſtates, which are compoſed of the ſeveral orders of the kingdom, even that of peaſants, every one ſhould be the more attached to his country; yet emigrations are very frequent, and there muſt be ſome cauſe for them.

The claſs which of all others are moſt attached to their country, are the huſbandmen. Agriculture was tolerably flouriſhing, till Guſtavus Vaſa prohibited the exportation of corn. Ever ſince that fatal edict, it has conſtantly degenerated, and the endeavours uſed of late years to reſtore it, have not altogether had the deſired effect. Government buys every year part of the corn that is wanted for home conſumption; and this ſcarcity may laſt long, as it is very difficult to breed large quantities of cattle. They muſt be fed dry for nine months in the year, and hands are wanting to cut up and to houſe that quantity of fodder, which the long winters require.

The mines are not liable to the like inconveniences. They were long the chief ſupport of the kingdom, but are ſince grown dependent on the Engliſh and Dutch, who have lent large ſums to carry on the works. A

better

better management has gradually freed them from this bondage. The silver mines annually bring in 4500 marks to the state; the copper-mines yield 8000 ingots, of which 5500 are exported; the iron-mines yield 400,000 ingots, of which they export about 300,000. These last were easily multiplied, especially in the northern provinces, which abound with wood and water for the works, and where the long and severe winters are favourable to the transport. The states held in 1765 forbad the opening of any more, though no reason of political œconomy can be assigned for such a prohibition. We may presume to suspect, that it took its rise from the private and personal interest of some leading men in the diet. The manufactures have not fared better than the mines.

When the happy revolution which restored the liberty of Sweden, the nation in general were clothed in foreign stuffs. At that memorable period, they were sensible how impossible it was to rectify this evil with their own wool, which was extremely coarse, for they sent for ewes and rams from Spain and England, and by the precautions that have been taken, they have not much degenerated. As the flocks multiplied, the manufactures increased to that degree, that in 1763, they employed 45,000 hands. This progress has displeased some patriots, who thought it prejudicial to agriculture. In vain were they told, that the manufactures promoted the consumption of the productions of the land, that they multiplied cattle, and that the cattle fertilized the ground; that there were in the kingdom but eight or ten towns, at most, that deserved to be called so, and that their population, relative to that of the country, was but as one to twelve, which was not the case in any other country. These representations had no effect. The diet of 1765, from party spirit or ignorance, adopted

adopted the views of those who were for sending every body back to the plough. To bring this about, they have shackled industry with all the fetters they could devise. The consequence has been, that the artificers are gone to seek for employment abroad, especially in Russia, and that now Sweden has no manufactures.

These fisheries have not met with the same fate. The only one that deserves to be considered in a political view, is the herring fishery. It only began in 1747. Before that time, the herrings did not frequent the coasts of Sweden. They then came in shoals to the coast of Gottenburgh, and have never forsaken it since. They annually export 200,000 barrels, which at the rate of 20 livres † per barrel, amount to 4,000,000 of livres. About 8000 barrels are sent over to the English islands in America. It is very surprising that the French, who have more slaves, and are more at a loss to feed them, should never have encouraged the importation of so desirable an article.

The Swedish nation was not yet possessed of the herring fishery, when they prohibited the importation of all foreign commodities, and the conveying their own from one harbour of the kingdom to another in foreign bottoms. That famous edict, restored navigation, which had long since been destroyed by the calamities of war. Their flag which was unknown every where, was now to be seen on all seas. Their seamen soon acquired skill and experience. Some able politicians were even of opinion that their progress was growing too considerable for a depopulated country. They thought it would be best to keep to the exportation of their own produce, and the importation of such foreign commodities as they wanted, and have nothing to do with mere freight. This system was warmly opposed. Some eminent statesmen were of

† 17 s. 6d. ‡ 174,000l.

opinion

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opinion, that, far from cramping this branch of industry, it ought to be encouraged, by abolishing every regulation that might tend to obstruct it. The exclusive right of passing the Sound was formerly appropriated to a few towns, distinguished by the name of *Staple*. All the parts situate to the north of Stockholm or Abo, were obliged to send their commodities to one of these staples, and there to take in those of the Baltic, which they could have procured cheaper at first hand. These edicts of illiberality, contrived in barbarous times, and tending to favour the monopoly of merchants, still subsist to this day. The wisest speculators in matters of administration wished to see them abolished; that a more general competition might produce greater industry. But whatever may be the wishes of the nation with regard to trade, no person is desirous of having the army augmented.

Before the reign of Gustavus Vasa, every Swede was a soldier. Upon any emergency of the state, the husbandman left his plough, and took up his bow. The whole nation was inured to war, by their incessant civil broils. Government had but five hundred men in pay, who were always to hold themselves in readiness to march. In 1542, this small corps was increased to six thousand. The peasants, upon whom these troops were quartered, found the burden intolerable, and it was necessary to ease them of it. For this purpose, the uncultivated lands were incorporated with the crown lands, and when they were cleared, these new defenders of their country were placed on them. This excellent institution has been continued ever since. Military men are not shut up in garrisons, to lead a life of idleness, as they are in other countries. From the general to the common soldier, every one has a house which he lives in, and a spot of ground of his own, which he improves. The extent and value of this land, is proportionable to

his rank in the army. This poſſeſſion, which they hold from the crown, is called *Beſtelk*, and is never granted but in the domains belonging to government. The army now conſiſts of eight regiments of horſe, three regiments of dragoons, two regiments of huſſars, and twenty one regiments of national infantry that are paid in the above manner, and ten regiments of foreign troops, who are paid in money, and diſpoſed of in the provinces, and in the fortreſſes beyond the ſeas; all theſe forces together amount to 50,000 men. This army is increaſed to 84,000 men, by the addition of 34,000 ſoldiers, who are kept in reſerve, and have likewiſe their *Beſtelk*, and by their inſtitution are deſtined to ſupply the place of thoſe who die among the national infantry, are loſt or taken priſoners. Twenty ſhips of the line, with a proportionable number of frigates, and a few galleys, complete the forces of the republic.

To make theſe forces act, the ſtate has only a revenue of eighteen millions of livres[z], which ariſes from a land tax, the returns of the cuſtoms, duties upon copper, iron, and ſtamped paper, a poll-tax, and a free gift. This is very little for the expences of war, and the neceſſities of government; and yet it muſt alſo anſwer for the payment of debts.

THESE debts amounted to 7,500,000 livres[a], when Charles XI. came to the crown. That prince, who was an oeconomiſt, in a manner becoming a ſovereign, paid them off. He went ſtill farther, and redeemed ſeveral of the domains conquered in Germany, which had been alienated to powerful neighbours. He likewiſe redeemed the crown jewels, upon which conſiderable ſums had been borrowed in Holland. He fortified the frontier towns, ſuccoured his allies, and often fitted out ſquadrons to maintain his ſuperiority on the Baltic,

[z] £ 787,500 [a] £ 328,125

The

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The events subsequent to his death once more plunged the nation into its former confusion, which has continued increasing ever since, so that the government was in debt 82,500,000 livres[1], for which they paid four and a half per cent. interest. Of this capital, eight millions are the property of foreigners, five millions belong to a sinking fund, established to pay off the debts contracted by Charles XII, a million and a half to some communities, twelve millions and a half to private persons in Sweden, and fifty-five millions to the bank. The best calculators pretend that this bank, which belongs solely to the state, and is only to be at their disposal by the nation in a general assembly, has got so much by lending its paper to private persons, upon moveable and immoveable effects, as administration owes it. In that case, the republic in fact owes but one third of the debt, for which it pays interest, for the sake of supporting public credit.

THIS credit is the more necessary, as there does not, since the last German war, remain two millions of specie in circulation all over the kingdom. Every thing is carried on by paper. As those who are intrusted with the management of the paper credit, are sworn to keep every thing relative to it, a profound secret, the quantity cannot be exactly ascertained; but from the informations of the nicest observers, we may venture to affirm that the sum total of bank notes amounts to no less than seventy-seven millions[2].

POVERTY was not the greatest evil under which Sweden laboured; she was threatened with calamities of a more dangerous nature. Private interest, which had taken place of public spirit, filled the court, the senate, and all orders of the republic with distrust. All bodies of

[1] £ 3,608,333.

[2] £ 3,466,666. 13s. 4d.

[1] £ 3,608,333.

[2] £ 3,466,666. 13s. 4d.

[1] £ 546,875.

men

ing wage war upon each other's destruction with unparalleled inveteracy. When the means were wanting at home, they were sought for from abroad, and a man was not ashamed to conspire, in some measure, with foreigners against his own country.

THIS unhappy situation of a seemingly free state, kept up that slavish disposition, which degrades most of the European nations; they gloried in their chains, when they beheld the sufferings of a people who had shaken off theirs. No one would be convinced that the Swedes had gone from one extreme to another; that to avoid the mischiefs of arbitrary power, they had fallen into the confusions of anarchy. The laws had not provided means to reconcile the private rights of individuals with those of society, and the prerogatives it ought to enjoy for the common safety of its members.

IN that fatal crisis, it was expedient for the Swedes to intrust the phantom of a king, of their own creation, with a power sufficient to inquire into the abuses of the state, and find out proper remedies for it. This is the greatest act of sovereignty a people can exercise; and it is not losing their liberty to commit it to the custody of a guardian in whom they can confide, whilst they watch over the use he makes of the power delegated to him.

SUCH resolution would have raised the Swedes to the highest pitch of glory and happiness, and given the world a high opinion of their understanding and wisdom; whereas by declining so necessary a measure, they have compelled the sovereign to seize upon the supreme authority. He now reigns upon his own terms, and his subjects have no other rights left, but what his moderation would not suffer him to strip them of.

THIS event is too recent to allow us to entertain our readers with an account of it; posterity must be left to judge of it. Let us now inquire into the connections, formed in India by the King of Prussia.

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The king of Prussia forms an East India company at Embden. Character of that prince. Fate of his establishment.

THIS prince, in his younger years, wisely preferred the advantage of treasuring up knowledge, to the usual pleasures of his age, and the luxurious idleness of courts. An intercourse with the greatest men of his time, joined to his spirit of observation, insensibly ripened his genius, which was naturally active, and eager for improvement. Neither flattery nor opposition could ever interrupt his deep reflections. He formed the plan of his future conduct and reign, in the earlier part of his life. It was foretold on his accession to the crown, that his ministers would be no more than his secretaries; the managers of his finances no more than his clerks; and his generals no more than his aids de camp. Some lucky circumstances afforded him an opportunity of displaying to the whole world, the talents he had acquired in retirement. With a quickness peculiar to himself, Frederick discovering at once, and pursuing his real interests, attacked a power by which his ancestors had been held in slavery. He obtained a victory in five engagements against that power, deprived of its best provinces, and concluded a peace with the same wisdom that he had begun the war.

THOUGH his combats were at an end, yet he did not remain inactive. He aspired to gain the admiration of those very people, whom he had struck with terror. He collected all the arts about him, to give an additional lustre to his name. He reformed the abuses in the courts of judicature, and dictated himself the wisest laws. A plain and invariable order was established in every part of the administration. As he was convinced that the authority of a sovereign, is a common benefit to all his subjects, a protection which they are all equally entitled to, he gave to every man the liberty of approaching his person, and of writing to him. Every instant of his life was devoted to the welfare of his people; his very amusements were made useful to them. His

writings

writings on history, morality and politics abounded with practical truths. Even his poetry was full of profound and instructive ideas. He was considering of the means of enriching his dominions, when some fortunate event put him in possession of East Friesland in the year 1744.

EMBDEN, the capital of this little province, was reckoned two centuries ago, one of the best ports in Europe. The English compelled to abandon Antwerp, had made it the centre of their connections with the continent. The Dutch had long attempted, and in vain, to appropriate it to themselves; till it excited their jealousy to such a pitch, that they even endeavoured to fill up the port. It was in every respect fit to become the staple of a great trade. The distance of this little country from the bulk of the Prussian forces, might be attended with some inconveniences, but Frederick was in hopes that the terror of his name would keep the maritime powers in awe. In this persuasion, he established an East India company at Embden in 1750.

THE capital for this new society was 3,900,000 livres[1], chiefly subscribed by the English and Dutch, notwithstanding the severe prohibitions of their governments. They were allured by the unlimited freedom they were to enjoy, by paying three per cent. to the sovereign upon every sale they should make. The event did not answer their expectation; six ships sent successively to China, brought to the owners no more than their bare capital, and a profit of ten per cent. in seven years. Another company, formed soon after in the same place for Bengal, was still more unsuccessful. They never attempted but two expeditions, and all they have for it, is a law suit, which probably will be an endless

[1] £ 170,625.

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one. At the breaking out of the laſt war, both theſe companies were annihilated.

THIS has been the only check the king of Pruſſia's greatneſs has ever received. We know how difficult it is to judge of the merit of cotemporaries: becauſe they are not at a ſufficient diſtance. Princes are of all men, thoſe we can leaſt hope to be acquainted with. Fame ſeldom ſpeaks of them diſpaſſionately. We commonly judge of them upon the reports of ſervile flattery, or unjuſt envy. The buz of the many intereſts and opinions that are moving and ſhifting around them, confounds or ſuſpends the judgment of the wiſeſt men.

YET if we might be allowed to pronounce from a multitude of facts connected together, we ſhould ſay of Frederick, that he was able to extricate himſelf from the plots of all Europe combined againſt him; that to the greatneſs and boldneſs of his enterprizes, he joined the moſt impenetrable ſecreſy in the execution of them; that he brought on, a total change in the art of war, which before his time, was thought to have attained its higheſt degree of perfection; that he ſhewed a fortitude ſcarcely to be paralleled in hiſtory; that he turned his very miſtakes to better advantage, than others do their ſucceſs; that he ſtruck all the world dumb with aſtoniſhment, or made every tongue break out in admiration, and reflected as much luſtre upon his nation, as other nations reflect upon their ſovereign.

THIS prince always appears formidable. The opinion he has given of his abilities; the indelible remembrance of his actions; an annual revenue of ſeventy millions [l]; a treaſure of more than two hundred [m]; an army of a hundred and fourſcore thouſand men: all this muſt ſecure his tranquility. Unfortunately it is not ſo beneficial to his ſubjects as it was formerly. He ſtill

[l] 3,062,500 l. [m] 8,750,000 l.

Never

leaves the management of the coin to the Jews, who have thrown it into the greateſt confuſion. He has done nothing for the relief of the richeſt merchants in his dominions, who have been ruined by his operations. He has taken the moſt conſiderable manufactures into his own hands. His dominions are full of monopolies, which are the bane of all induſtry. His people, who idolized him, have been given up to a ſet of foreign plunderers. This conduct has occaſioned ſuch diſtruſt, both at home and abroad, that we may venture to affirm, that all endeavours to reſtore the Embden company will prove ineffectual. Happy would it have been for his ſubjects and for all Europe, had this martial prince deſerved the appellation of a patriot king, and ſuffered thoſe numberleſs heaps which lie ruſting in his coffers to circulate in the nation, and invigorate the body politic.

Settlement of the Spaniards in the Philippine iſlands.

LET us next take a ſurvey of the trade to the Philippine iſlands, ſo often attempted by Spain, and with ſo little ſucceſs. The Philippines, formerly known by the name of Manillas, form an immenſe Archipelago to the eaſt of Aſia. The mountains in theſe iſlands are peopled with ſavages, who ſeem to be the oldeſt inhabitants of the country. There appears to be ſome analogy between their language and that of Malabar, whence it has been ſuſpected that they might poſſibly have ſprung from that pleaſant region of India. They lead quite an animal life, have no ſettled habitation, and feed upon the fruits and roots they find in the woods; and when they have exhauſted one diſtrict, they go and devour another. All endeavours to tame them have proved ineffectual, becauſe it is the moſt difficult thing in the world to ſubdue a wandering nation.

THE plains from which they have been driven, have been ſucceſſively inhabited by colonies from Siam, Sumatra, Borneo, Macaſſar, Malacca, the Moluccas and

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Arabia. The manners, religion, and government of theſe foreign coloniſts, evidently diſtinguiſh their ſeveral origins.

MAGELLAN was the firſt European who diſcovered theſe iſlands. Upon ſome diſcontent, he left Portugal, his native country, and entered into the ſervice of the emperor Charles V; and paſſing the ſtreights that now bear his name, he arrived at the Manillas in 1521. He unfortunately died there, but probably this would not have prevented the good conſequences of his voyage, had they not been baffled by the following occurrences.

IN the fifteenth century, whilſt the Portugueſe were engaged in diſcovering the Eaſt Indies, and engroſſing the ſpice trade, and thoſe manufactures which had always been the delight of civilized nations, the Spaniards, by the diſcovery of America, were ſecuring greater treaſures than ever the mind of man had thought of coveting. Though both nations were purſuing their reſpective views of aggrandizement in far diſtant regions, it was not impoſſible that they might meet; and their mutual antipathy would have made ſuch an event dangerous. To prevent it, Pope Alexander VI. fixed their reſpective claims in 1493, in conſequence of that univerſal and ridiculous power, which the pontifs had aſſumed for ſeveral centuries, and which the idolatrous ignorance of two ſuperſtitious nations ſtill kept up, that they might aſſociate heaven to their avarice. He gave to Spain all the countries that ſhould be diſcovered to the weſt of a meridian taken a hundred leagues from the Azores, and to Portugal whatever land they might conquer to the eaſt of that meridian. In proceſs of time, the two powers agreed to remove the line of ſeparation two hundred and fifty leagues farther to the weſt, as a means of ſecuring their tranquility. The court of Rome was not ſufficiently acquainted with the theory of the earth,

earth, to know that as the Spaniards advanced to the weſt, and the Portugueſe to the eaſt, they muſt meet at laſt. Magellan's expedition evinced this truth.

THE Portugueſe, who though ſeamen themſelves had no notion that it was poſſible to ſail to the Indies any other way than by the Cape of Good Hope, were greatly ſurprized to ſee the Spaniards come thither by the ſouth ſea. They were apprehenſive for the Moluccas, upon which their rivals pretended to have a claim, as likewiſe upon the Manillas. The court of Liſbon was determined at any rate not to part with the ſpice trade. However, before they ventured to quarrel with the only power, whoſe naval ſtrength was then formidable, they thought it adviſeable to try the method of negociation. They ſucceeded better than they expected. Charles V, who was frequently in want of money to carry on his expeditions, conſented, for the ſum of 3,420,000 livres[a], to ſuſpend the armaments againſt the Moluccas, till the reſpective claims could be adjuſted. He even engaged, in caſe the deciſion was favourable, not to make any advantage of it till he had paid the money he had received. After this accommodation, the Spaniſh monarch was ſo intent upon his aggrandizement in Europe and America, that he loſt ſight of the Eaſt Indies.

IN 1564, Philip II, reſumed the project of conquering the Manillas. The execution was committed to Michael Lopez de l'Egaſpe. He gained a ſolid footing at Luçonia, the chief of thoſe iſlands, and laid the foundation of ſome colonies in the adjacent iſlands, particularly in that of Sibu, where Magellan had landed. His ſucceſſors would probably have finiſhed the conqueſt of this archipelago, if they had been better ſupported, or even if they had not been under a neceſſity of employ-

[a] 149,625l.

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ing the little aſſiſtance they had, in defending the Portugueſe in the Moluccas. Dutch patience got the better of thoſe weak, tardy and inſincere efforts. They did but protract the loſs of thoſe rich poſſeſſions, and left the Caſtilian power over the Manillas, which then began to be called Philippines, in a very languid condition, as it has continued ever ſince.

Preſent ſtate of the Philippine iſlands.

In theſe iſlands, the number of Spaniards does not exceed three thouſand: there are three times as many Meſtees. It is the buſineſs of both together to keep in ſubjection one million three hundred and ſixty odd thouſand Indians, who have been ſubdued, as appeared by the account taken in 1752. Moſt of them are Chriſtians, and all pay a tribute of two livres 13 ſous *. They are diſperſed in nine iſlands, and diſtributed into twenty departments, twelve of which are in the iſland of Luçonia. The capital, which at all times was called Manilla, is ſituated at the mouth of a large river, at the bottom of a bay which is thirty leagues in circumference. L'Egaſpe thought this a fit place to be the center of the ſtate he was about to found, and accordingly made it the ſeat of government and the center of trade. Gomez Perez de las Manignas incloſed it with walls, and built fort St. James in 1590. As this harbour will admit none but ſmall ſhips, it was afterwards found expedient to fortify Cavite, which is diſtant but three leagues, and is now the harbour of Manilla. It is ſemicircular, and the ſhips are on all ſides ſheltered from the ſouth winds, but expoſed to the northern blaſts, unleſs they keep very cloſe to the ſhore. Three or four hundred Indians were formerly employed in the docks, but they have been ſo much increaſed within theſe few years, that men of war are now built there for Europe.

* 2 l. 3 d. ½.

THE

THE colony is under a governor, whose authority lasts eight years, but is subordinate to the viceroy of Mexico. He commands the army, disposes of all civil and military employments, and may give lands to the soldiers, and even erect them into fiefs. This power, though somewhat ballanced by the influence, which the clergy and the inquisition assume in all the Spanish settlements abroad, has been found so dangerous, that many expedients have been devised to check its exorbitancy. The best of these expedients, is that by which it is decreed that the memory of a governor who dies in office shall be prosecuted, and that when a governor is recalled, he shall not depart till his administration has been inquired into. Every private man is at liberty to complain, and if he has suffered any wrong, he is to be indemnified at the cost of the delinquent, who is likewise condemned to pay a fine to the sovereign, for having brought an odium upon him. When this wise institution was made, it was observed with such severity, that when many and heavy accusations were laid to the charge of the governor, he was imprisoned. Several died under confinement, and others were released only to undergo severe punishments. But corruption has since insinuated itself, and the person who succeeds, is commonly determined by considerable bribes, or on account of the extortions he himself intends to practice, to palliate those of his predecessor.

THIS collusion has brought on a settled system of oppression. Arbitrary taxes have been levied; the public revenue has been lost in the hands that were appointed to collect it; extravagant duties have made trade degenerate into smuggling; the farmer has been compelled to lay up his crops in the magazines of the government; and some governors have carried their tyranny to such atrocious lengths, as to limit the quantity of corn that the fields were to produce, and to oblige the farmers to

BOOK V.

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bring it to the treasury, to be paid only at the time and in the manner their oppressive masters should think proper. This tyranny has determined vast numbers of Indians to forsake the Philippines, or to take refuge in the inaccessible parts of those islands. Several millions are said to have perished through ill usage, and it is impossible to guess at the numbers whose very existence has been prevented by the want of culture, and consequently of food. The few who have escaped all these calamities have sought for safety in obscurity and want. The endeavours of some honest governors, within the space of two centuries, to stop the progress of such barbarities, have proved ineffectual, because the abuses were too inveterate to yield to a transient and subordinate authority. Nothing short of the supreme power of the court of Madrid could stem the torrent of universal rapaciousness; but this only method has never been put in practice. This scandalous indifference is the true cause why the Philippines have never been civilized, and have neither subordination nor industry. Their name would scarcely be known, were it not for their connections with Mexico.

THOSE connections, which subsist ever since the first settlement of the Spaniards in the East and West Indies, are nothing more than the conveying of the produce and merchandize of Asia to America by the south sea. Not one of the articles that constitute those rich cargoes, are the produce either of the ground or of the manufactures of those islands. Their cinnamon is brought from Batavia. The Chinese bring them silks, and the English or the French supply them with white linen, and printed callicoes from Bengal and Coromandel. All the eastern nations may sail there openly, but the European must conceal their flag. They would not be admitted without this precaution, which however is but a vain ceremony. From whatever port the goods are sent, they must

must be landed before the departure of the galleons. If they should arrive later, they could not be disposed of, or must be sold at a losing price, to merchants who must stow them in warehouses till the next voyage. The payments are made in cochineal and Mexican piastres, and partly in cowries, which are not current in Africa; but will pass every where on the banks of the Ganges.

They seldom deal directly with the Spaniards. Most of them are so disgusted with the fatigues of trade, that they place all their money in the hands of the Chinese, who enrich themselves at their cost. If, as the court of Madrid had ordered in 1750, these agents, the most active in Asia, had been compelled to be baptized or to quit the country, all business would have been thrown into the utmost confusion.

Some politicians think this plan would not be detrimental, an opinion that has been long entertained. The Philippines had but just opened a communication with America, when the Spaniards thought of giving them up, as being prejudicial to the interest of the mother country. Philip II. and his successors constantly rejected that proposal, which was often renewed. The city of Seville in 1731, and that of Cadiz in 1733, entertained more rational notions. Both these cities imagined, and it is rather surprising that the idea did not occur sooner, that it would be advantageous to the Spaniards to be directly concerned in the trade to Asia, and that the possessions they had in those parts should be made the center of their operations. In vain was it urged that as India affords silks and cottons superior to those of Europe, both for workmanship and colouring, and chiefly for cheapness, the national manufactures would be ruined. This objection might have its weight in some nations, but appeared altogether frivolous in this case, considering the situation of Spain.

The

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THE Spaniards indeed uſe none but foreign ſtuffs and linen either for wearing apparel or furniture. Thoſe continual demands muſt neceſſarily increaſe the induſtry, the wealth, the population and the ſtrength of their neighbours, who avail themſelves of theſe advantages, to keep that nation which ſupplies them in a ſtate of dependence. It would ſurely be acting with more wiſdom and dignity, were they to adopt the Indian manufactures. They would be preferable, both in point of œconomy and elegance, and would leſſen that preponderance which muſt prove fatal to them in the end.

What the Philippines might become in induſtrious hands.

THE inconveniences attending new undertakings are readily removed. The iſlands which Spain poſſeſſes are ſituated between Japan, China, Cochinchina, Siam, Borneo, Macaſſar and the Moluccas, and are within reach of forming connections with thoſe ſeveral ſtates. If they are too far diſtant from Malabar, Coromandel and Bengal, effectually to protect any ſettlements that might be formed there; on the other hand, they are ſo near ſeveral countries which the Europeans frequent, that they could eaſily keep off their enemies from them in time of war. Beſides, as they are ſo far from the continent, they have no neighbours to ravage their lands, or to interfere in their concerns. This diſtance however does not prevent them from being ſure of ſubſiſtence at home. It is true the Philippines are ſubject to frequent earthquakes, and they have inceſſant rains from July to November; but all this is no obſtacle to the fertility of the ground. No country in Aſia abounds more with fiſh, corn, fruits, vegetables, cattle, ſago, cocoa trees, and eſculent plants of all kinds.

THESE iſlands afford even ſome articles fit for trade from India to India, ſuch as ebony, tobacco, wax, thoſe bird's neſts that are in ſuch requeſt, pitch and tar, a kind of white hemp fit for ropes and ſails, plenty of excellent timber; cowries, pearls, and ſugar which

may be cultivated to any quantity, and laſtly gold. There are inconteſtable proofs that in the earlieſt times, the Spaniards ſent over to America large quantities of gold found by the natives of this country in the rivers. If the quantity they now pick up does not exceed twelve hundred weight in a year, this muſt be imputed to the tyranny of the Spaniards, who will not ſuffer them to reap the benefit of their own induſtry. A reaſonable moderation would induce them to reſume theſe labours, and to apply to others ſtill more beneficial to Spain.

THEN the colony will produce for exportation to Europe, alum, buffalo ſkins, caſſia, the *Faba Sancti Ignatii*, a uſeful drug in phyſic, indigo, cocoa which has been brought thither from Mexico, and ſucceeds very well, woods for dying, cotton, and baſtard cinnamon which will perhaps be improved, and which the Chineſe were ſatisfied with, ſuch as it was, before they frequented Batavia. Some travellers affirm that the iſland of Mindanao, where it grows, formerly produced clove trees alſo. They add that the ſovereign of the iſland ordered them to be rooted up, ſaying he had better do it himſelf than be compelled to it by the Dutch. This anecdote looks very ſuſpicious. What is certain is, that the vicinity of the Moluccas affords great facilities for procuring the trees that bear nutmeg and cloves.

THE foreign markets will furniſh Spain with ſilks, callicoes, and other articles of the produce of Aſia for their own conſumption, and will ſell them cheaper to the Spaniards than to their competitors. All other nations in Europe make uſe of money drawn from America to trade to India. Before this money can reach the place of its deſtination, it has paid heavy duties, has taken a prodigious compaſs, and has been expoſed to great riſques; whereas the Spaniards, by ſending it directly

from

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from America to the Philippines, would ſave duties, time and inſurance; ſo that by furniſhing the ſame quantity of ſpecie as the rival nations, they would in fact make their purchaſes at a cheaper rate.

In proceſs of time there would even be no neceſſity of carrying ſo much ready money from place to place, if they knew how to improve thoſe iſlands to the degree they are capable of. For this purpoſe they ſhould recal to their ſea-ports the nations who frequented them before they were invaded by the Spaniards, and obliterate the memory of the forty thouſand ſubjects of China, who were ſettled in the Philippines, and were almoſt all inhumanly butchered, becauſe they would not tamely ſubmit to the horrid yoke that was laid on them. The Chineſe would then deſert Batavia, which is too far off, and cauſe arts and agriculture to revive in theſe iſlands. They would ſoon be followed by many free traders of Europe, who are diſperſed in various parts of India, and conſider themſelves as victims to the monopoly of their reſpective companies. The natives, excited to labour by the advantages inſeparable from ſuch a competition, would be rouſed from their indolence. They would be fond of the government that would ſtudy to promote their happineſs; would gladly ſubmit to its laws, and in a ſhort time would become entirely Spaniards. If our conjectures are not vain, ſuch a colony would be more profitable than a mere paſſive ſettlement, which devours part of the treaſures of America. Such a revolution may eaſily be brought about, and muſt infallibly be haſtened by eſtabliſhing a great freedom of trade, a civil and religious liberty unlimited, and a complete ſecurity for the property of individuals.

This can never be the work of an excluſive company. For theſe two centuries paſt, ſince the Europeans have frequented the ſeas of Aſia, they have never been animated by a truly laudable ſpirit. In vain have

ſociety,

ſociety, morality and politics been improved amongſt us, thoſe diſtant countries have ſeen nothing but our rapaciouſneſs, our reſtleſsneſs and our tyranny. The miſchief we have done to other parts of the world has ſometimes been compenſated by the knowledge we have imparted to them, and the wiſe inſtitutions we have eſtabliſhed amongſt them: but the Indians have continued to groan under their former darkneſs and deſpotiſm, and we have taken no pains to reſcue them from thoſe dreadful calamities. Had the ſeveral governments directed the ſteps of their free traders, it is probable that the love of glory would have been united to a paſſion for riches, and that ſome nations would have made attempts fit to render their names illuſtrious. Such noble and pure intentions could never be purſued by any company of merchants. Confined within the narrow limits of preſent profit, they have never conſidered the happineſs of the people with whom they traded, and no one has ever taken offence at a behaviour which could not but be expected.

How much would it redound to the honour of Spain, from whom perhaps no great things are expected, to ſhew a ſenſibility for the intereſts of mankind, and to endeavour to promote them! That nation now begins to ſhake off the fetters of prejudice, which have kept it in a ſtate of infancy, notwithſtanding its natural ſtrength. Its ſubjects are not yet degraded and corrupted by the contagion of riches, from which they have been preſerved by their own indolence and the ſtupidity of their government. Theſe people muſt neceſſarily be inclined to good; they may know it, and no doubt would exerciſe it, having all the means of accompliſhing it in the poſſeſſions their conqueſts have given them, in the richeſt countries of the univerſe. Their ſhips, deſtined to waft felicity to the remoteſt parts of Aſia, would ſail from their ſeveral ports, meet at the Canary iſlands, or ſepa-

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mately purſue their reſpective voyages, as it ſuited them beſt. They might return from India by the Cape of Good Hope; but would go thither by the South Sea, where the ſale of their cargoes would greatly increaſe their capitals. This advantage would ſecure to them a ſuperiority over their competitors, who ſail with falſe bills of lading, ſeldom carrying any thing but money. They would find refreſhments up the river Plata if they ſhould be in want of them. Thoſe who were in a condition to wait longer, would only put into Chili, or even go on to the iſland of Juan Fernandez.

THIS delightful iſland, which takes its name from a Spaniard to whom it had been given, and who took a diſlike to it after he had lived there ſome conſiderable time, lies at 110 leagues diſtance from the continent of Chili. Its greateſt length is but about five leagues, and the breadth not quite two. In ſo ſmall a compaſs, and very uneven ground, are found a clear ſky, a pure air, excellent water, and all the vegetables that are a ſpecific againſt the ſcurvy. It has appeared from experience that all ſorts of European and American corn, fruit and quadrupeds will thrive there to admiration. The coaſts abound with fiſh; and to add to all theſe advantages, there is a good harbour, where ſhips are ſheltered from every wind but the north, and that never blows hard enough to endanger them in the leaſt.

THESE conveniences have induced all the pirates who have infeſted the coaſts of Peru to put in at Juan Fernandez. Anſon, who went to the South Seas, with more extenſive projects, found there a comfortable and ſafe aſylum. The Spaniards, convinced at laſt that the precaution they had taken to deſtroy the cattle they had left there, is inſufficient to keep off their enemies, intend to build a fort on the iſland. That military poſt will become a uſeful ſettlement, if the court of Madrid will

will but attend to her own intereſt. It is needleſs to enter into farther particulars. It is evident how much the plan we have hinted at would conduce to the advantage of trade and navigation, and to the greatneſs of Spain. The connections that Ruſſia carries on by land with China, can never acquire the ſame degree of importance.

General notions of Tartary.

BETWEEN thoſe two great empires lies an immenſe ſpace, known in the earlieſt ages by the name of Scythia, and ſince by that of Tartary, taken in its full extent. This region is bounded to the weſt by the Caſpian ſea and Perſia; to the ſouth by Perſia, Indoſtan, the kingdoms of Aracan and Ava, China, and Corea; to the eaſt by the eaſtern ſea; and to the north by the frozen ocean. One part of theſe vaſt deſarts is ſubject to the Chineſe empire; another is under the dominion of Ruſſia; the third is independent, and is called Khariſm, and Greater and Leſſer Bucharia.

THE inhabitants of thoſe famous regions have always lived by hunting and fiſhing, and upon the milk of their flocks, and have ever been averſe to cities and a ſedentary life, and equally ſo to huſbandry. Their origin which has been loſt in their deſerts, and in their wandering way of life, is not more ancient than their cuſtoms. They have gone on doing as their forefathers did, and if we trace them back from generation to generation, we ſhall find that the preſent Tartars are juſt like thoſe of the earlieſt ages.

THESE people, for the moſt part, have long been followers of the great Lama, who reſides at Putali, a town ſituated in a country which partly belongs to Tartary, and partly to India. This extenſive region, where mountains riſe above mountains, is called Boutan by the inhabitants of Indoſtan, Tangut by the Tartars, Tſanli by the Chineſe, Laſſa by the Indians beyond the Ganges, and Thibet by the Europeans.

THIS

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THIS religion appears from unqueſtionable monuments to be of above three thouſand years ſtanding; and is founded on the exiſtence of a ſupreme being, and the pureſt principles of morality.

IT is ſaid, the followers of that pontif believe him to be immortal, and to keep up the deceit, the deity never ſhews himſelf but to a few confidants; that when he appears to receive the adorations of the people, it is always in a kind of tabernacle, where a dim light ſhews rather the ſhadow than the features of that living god; that when he dies, another prieſt is ſubſtituted in his ſtead, as nearly of the ſame ſize and figure, as poſſible; and that by means of theſe precautions, the deluſion is carried on, even on the very ſpot where this farce is acted; and much more in the minds of believers who are farther removed from the ſcene of action.

A ſagacious philoſopher has lately diſpelled this prejudice. It is true the great Lamas ſeldom ſhew themſelves, the better to keep up that veneration they have inſpired for their perſon and their myſteries; but they give audience to ambaſſadors, and admit princes who come to viſit them. But if their perſon is ſeldom to be ſeen, except on ſome important occaſions, or on high feſtivals, their picture is always in full view, being hung up over the doors of the temple at Putali.

WHAT has given riſe to the fable of the immortality of the Lamas, is, that it is a tenet of their faith, that the holy ſpirit which has reſided in one of theſe pontifs, immediately upon his death, removes into the body of him who is duly elected to ſucceed him. This tranſmigration of the divine ſpirit is perfectly conſonant to the doctrine of the metempſychoſis, which has always been the ſtanding ſyſtem in thoſe parts.

THE religion of Lama made conſiderable progreſs in early times. It was adopted in a large part of the globe,

globe. It is professed all over Thibet and Mongalia; is almost universal in Greater and Lesser Bucharia, and several provinces of Tartary, and has some followers in the kingdom of Cassimere in the Indies, and in China.

This is the only worship that can boast of such remote antiquity, without having received any mixture of other tenets. The religion of the Chinese has more than once been adulterated by the introduction of foreign deities and superstitions, which have crept in among the vulgar. The Jews have seen an end of their hierarchy, and their temple has been demolished. Alexander and Mohammed did their utmost to extinguish the sacred fire of the Gaurs. Tamerlane and the Moguls have in a great measure impaired the worship of the god Brama in India. But neither time, fortune, nor men, could ever shake the divine power of the great Lama.

This stability and perpetuity must be peculiar to those religions that have fixed tenets, a well-regulated ecclesiastical hierarchy, and a supreme head, who by his authority supports those tenets in their primitive state, by condemning all new opinions, which pride might be tempted to introduce, and credulity to adopt. The Lamas themselves confess that they are no gods; but they pretend to represent the divinity, and to have received a power from heaven to decide ultimately on whatever relates to public worship. Their theocracy extends as fully to temporal as to spiritual matters; but they think it beneath them to meddle with profane concerns, and always commit the administration of government to persons whom they judge to be worthy of their confidence. This has successively occasioned the loss of several provinces of their vast dominions, which have fallen a prey to their governors. The great Lama, who formerly was absolute master of all the Thibet, now possesses but a small part of it.

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THE religious opinions of the Tartars have never enervated their valour. It was to oppoſe their inroads into China, that three hundred years before the chriſtian æra, that famous wall was built, which extends from the river Stoambo to the ſea of Kamtſchatka; which is earthed up every where, and flanked in different parts with large towers, after the ancient manner of fortifying. Such a monument ſhews that there muſt have been at that time a prodigious population in the empire: but at the ſame time it ſeems to indicate that there was a want of proweſs and military ſkill. If the Chineſe had been men of courage, they would themſelves have attacked the roving tribes, or kept them in awe by well-diſciplined armies; if they had been ſkilled in the art of war, they would have known that lines five hundred leagues long could not be defended in every part, and that if they were broken but in one place, all the reſt of the fortifications would become uſeleſs.

THE inroads indeed of the Tartars continued till the thirteenth contury. At that period, the empire was conquered by thoſe barbarians, under the command of Genghis-kan. That foreign ſcepter was not broken till after eighty-nine years, when it fell into the hands of an indolent prince, who was governed by women, and was a ſlave to his miniſters.

WHEN the Tartars were expelled from their conqueſts, they did not bring home the laws and government of China. When they repaſſed the great wall, they relapſed into barbariſm, and lived in their deſarts, in as uncivilized a manner as they had done before. However, joining with the few who had continued in their roving way of life, they formed ſeveral hords, which imperceptibly became populous, and in proceſs of time, incorporated into that of the Mantchous. Their union inſpired them again with the project of invading China,

China, which was torn with domeſtic diſſentions. The malecontents were then ſo numerous, that they had no leſs than eight different armies, under the command of as many chiefs. In this confuſion the Tartars, who had long ravaged the northern provinces of the empire, ſeized upon the capital in 1644, and ſoon after upon the whole ſtate.

THIS revolution ſeemed rather to increaſe China, by the acceſſion of a great part of Tartary, than to ſubdue it. Soon after, it was again enlarged by the ſubmiſſion of the Mogul Tartars, famous for having founded moſt of the thrones in Aſia, and in particular that of Indoſtan.

THE conquerors ſubmitted to the laws of the people they had conquered, and exchanged their own cuſtoms and manners for thoſe of their ſlaves. This has been alledged as a proof of the wiſdom of the Chineſe government; but it ſeems to be no more than a natural conſequence of this plain and ſimple principle, that the leſſer number muſt yield to the greater. The Tartars, in the moſt populous empire upon earth, were not one in ten thouſand; ſo that, to bring about a change of manners and government, one Tartar muſt have prevailed over ten thouſand Chineſe, which is hardly poſſible in the nature of things. We have ſufficient proofs of the excellency of the Chineſe adminiſtration, without having recourſe to this. Beſides, thoſe Tartars had no ſettled cuſtoms and manners; no wonder then if they adopted the inſtitutions they found in China, whether good or bad. This revolution was ſcarce completed, when the empire was threatened with a new enemy, who might become a dangerous one.

Diſpute of the Ruſſians and Chineſe in Tartary.

THE Ruſſians, who towards the latter end of the ſixteenth century, had conquered the uncultivated plains of Siberia, had penetrated through a ſeries of deſarts as far

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far as the river Amour, which brought them to the eaſtern ſea, and as far as Selenga, which brought them near the confines of China, a country ſo highly extolled for its riches.

THE Chineſe were apprehenſive that the incurſions of the Ruſſians might in time give them ſome diſturbance, and they erected ſome forts to put a ſtop to this ambitious enemy. Warm contentions then began between the two nations concerning their boundaries. Skirmiſhes were frequent between the hunting parties, and an open war was daily expected. Very fortunately the plenipotentiaries of both courts found means to reconcile matters in 1689; the limits were fixed at the river Kerbechi, near the place of negociation, 300 leagues from the great wall. This was the firſt treaty the Chineſe had ever been concerned in, ſince the foundation of their empire. They granted the Ruſſians the liberty of ſending a caravan every year to Pekin, where ſtrangers had never been allowed to come, but were kept off with myſterious precautions. It was eaſily perceived that the Tartars, though they conformed to the manners and government of the Chineſe, did not adopt their political maxims.

The Ruſſians obtain leave to ſend a caravan to China.

THIS condeſcenſion did not inſpire the Ruſſians with moderation. They perſiſted in their uſurpations, and built a city, thirty leagues beyond the ſtipulated limits, which they called Albaſſinſkoi. The Chineſe having in vain complained of this encroachment, they at laſt determined to do themſelves juſtice in 1715. As the Czar was engaged in a war on the Baltic, and could not ſpare troops to defend the extremities of Tartary, the place was taken after a three years ſiege.

THE court of Peterſburg was prudent enough not to give way to a fruitleſs reſentment. They ſent a

miniſter

miniſter to Pekin in 1719, with inſtructions to revive the trade that had been interrupted by the late diſturbances. The negociation ſucceeded; but the caravan of 1721 having behaved with no more prudence than the former, it was agreed that for the future the two nations ſhould have no dealings together but upon the frontiers. Freſh miſunderſtandings have again interrupted this intercourſe, and they now carry on only a contraband trade; even that is but in a languid ſtate, but it is thought the Ruſſians are endeavouring to revive it.

The advantages they will derive from it, are ſufficient to induce them to ſurmount all the difficulties inſeparable from ſuch an undertaking. They are the only nation in Europe that can trade with the Chineſe without money, and barter their own commodities for thoſe of China. With their rich and choice furs, they will always purchaſe the things with which the Chineſe can furniſh great part of the globe. Independent of the articles they want for their own conſumption, they may deal largely in tea and rhubarb. It would be both prudent and eaſy to re-export theſe two articles, becauſe when brought over by land, they will preſerve a degree of perfection which they muſt loſe in a voyage over thoſe immenſe ſeas they muſt croſs, to come from ſuch remote parts of Aſia. But to turn this trade to any advantage, it muſt be conducted upon other principles than have hitherto been followed.

Formerly a caravan went every year from Peterſburgh, traverſed immenſe deſarts, and was met on the frontiers of China by ſome hundreds of ſoldiers, who eſcorted it to the capital of the empire. There, all who belonged to it were ſhut up in a caravanſera, to wait till the merchants ſhould chuſe to come and offer them the refuſe of their warehouſes. Their affairs being thus

finished, they returned to their own country, and got to Petersburgh three years after their departure.

In the ordinary course of things, the bad goods brought by the caravan would have been worth very little; but as this trade was carried on for the court, and the things were sold under the eye of the sovereign, the meanest objects acquired a value. Being admitted to this kind of fair, was a privilege which the monarch seldom granted but to his favourites. All were desirous of approving themselves worthy of this distinction, and the way to succeed was by over-bidding each other without discretion, as each was ambitious that his name should appear upon the list of the buyers. Notwithstanding this infamous emulation, what was put up to sale was so trifling, that the produce, deducting the consumption of the court, never amounted to 100,000 crowns [p]. To establish this trade upon a more respectable footing, it should be left to private persons, who understand it better, and who would take more pains about it.

Projects of the Russian court to trade to the Indies, through independent Tartary.

This would have been the right method, if the scheme of Peter the Great could have been brought to bear, which was, to have opened a communication between Siberia and India by independent Tartary. That great prince, who was always full of projects, wanted to form that connection by means of the Sirth, which waters the Turkestan, and in 1719, he sent 2500 men to seize upon the mouth of that river.

There was no such river to be found; its waters had been turned off, and conveyed through several channels to the lake Atall. This had been done by the Usbeck Tartars, who had taken umbrage at the repeated observations they had seen making. The Russians determined therefore to return to Astracan, whence they came. The

[p] 13,125 l.

court of Peterſburgh was obliged to relinquiſh the project, and be content with the intercourſe already formed with India by the Caſpian ſea.

Intercourſe between Ruſſia, and the Indies by the Caſpian ſea.

Such was, in the remoteſt ages, the way in which the north and ſouth communicated with each other. The regions bordering upon that immenſe lake, which are now very poor, very deſtitute of inhabitants, and in a very rude ſtate, exhibit to an attentive eye evident and undeniable tokens of former grandeur. Coins of the ancient Kaliphs are daily diſcovered there. Theſe monuments, with others equally authentic, would ſeem to favour the ſtory of ſome Indians having been ſhipwrecked on the coaſts of the Elbe in the reign of Auguſtus, which has always been looked upon as fabulous, notwithſtanding the concurrent teſtimony of cotemporary writers who related the fact. It is inconceivable how any inhabitants of India could fail on the Germanic ſeas; but, as Voltaire obſerves, it was not more wonderful to ſee an Indian trading in the northern countries, than to ſee a Roman make his way into India through Arabia. The Indians went into Perſia, where they embarked on the ſea of Hircania, ſailed up the Wolga, penetrated into Permia by the Kama, and from thence might go and embark on the northern ſea or on the Baltic. There have been men of enterpriſing genius in all ages.

Whatever may be thought of theſe conjectures, the Engliſh had no ſooner diſcovered Archangel about the middle of the ſixteenth century, and ſettled a commerce with Ruſſia, than they conceived a project of opening a way into Perſia, by the Wolga and the Caſpian ſea, which would be much eaſier and ſhorter than that of the Portugueſe, who were obliged to ſail round Africa and part of Aſia, to get into the gulph of Perſia. A further inducement to attempt it was, that the northern parts of Perſia, bordering upon the Caſpian ſea, produce much richer commodities than the ſouthern.

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The ſilks of Chirvan, Mazanderan, and more eſpecially Gilan, are the beſt in all the eaſt, and might ſerve to eſtabliſh excellent manufactures. But the trade of the Engliſh was not yet ſufficiently confirmed to encounter the difficulties that muſt attend ſo vaſt and ſo complicated an undertaking.

Some years after, a duke of Holſtein, who had eſtabliſhed ſome ſilk manufactures in his dominions, was not deterred by theſe difficulties. He wanted to get the raw ſilk from Perſia, and ſent ambaſſadors thither, who loſt their lives on the Caſpian ſea.

When the French were convinced of the influence of trade on the political balance of Europe, they alſo wiſhed to procure Perſian ſilks by way of Ruſſia; but their fatal paſſion for conqueſt made them forget this project, as well as many others that had been ſuggeſted by men of underſtanding, for the welfare of that great nation.

Peter I, guided by his own genius, his own experience, and the informations of foreigners, could not but be ſenſible at laſt, that his ſubjects were the people who ought to enrich themſelves by fetching away the produce of Perſia, and in time that of India. Accordingly in 1722, at the firſt beginning of the commotions that have overturned the empire of the Sophis, that great prince ſeized upon the fertile regions bordering on the Caſpian ſea. The heat of the climate, the dampneſs of the ſoil, and the malignancy of the air, deſtroyed the troops that were left to defend thoſe conqueſts. Ruſſia however did not reſolve to relinquiſh her uſurped provinces, till the year 1736, when the victorious Kouli-kan, having conquered the Turks, was enabled to take them by force.

The court of Peterſburg thought no more of any commerce with that part of the world, when an Engliſhman of the name of Elton laid a ſcheme in 1741,

for procuring that trade to his nation. This enterprising man was in the ſervice of Ruſſia: his propoſal was to convey Engliſh woollen cloths by way of the Wolga and the Caſpian ſea, to Perſia, to the north of Indoſtan, and to the greateſt part of Tartary. In conſequence of his operations, he was to bring home in exchange, gold, and ſuch commodities as the Armenians ſold at an extravagant price, being maſters of all the inland trade of Aſia. This plan was warmly adopted by the Engliſh company in Muſcovy, and favoured by the Ruſſian miniſtry.

But the Engliſh adventurer had ſcarce entered upon this plan, when Kouli-kan, who wanted bold and active men to ſecond his ambition, found means to decoy him into his ſervice, and by his aſſiſtance to make himſelf maſter of the Caſpian ſea. The court of Peterſburg, exaſperated at this treachery, revoked in 1746 all the privileges they had granted; but this was a poor remedy for ſo great an evil. The untimely death of the Perſian tyrant, was much more likely to quiet the minds of the people.

That great revolution, which once more plunged the Sophy's dominions into a worſe ſtate of anarchy than ever, reſtored to the Ruſſians the dominion over the Caſpian Sea. This was a neceſſary preliminary to the opening of a trade with Perſia and the Indies, but was not alone ſufficient to enſure its ſucceſs. The Armenians made it next to impoſſible. An active nation, accuſtomed to the eaſtern manners, in poſſeſſion of large capitals, extremely frugal in their expences, who had connections of a long ſtanding, entered into the minuteſt details, and embraced the moſt comprehenſive ſpeculations: ſuch a nation was not eaſily to be ſupplanted. Nor did the court of Peterſburgh expect it, but wiſely determined to allure a colony of thoſe crafty, laborious, and wealthy people to ſettle at Aſtracan. It

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is through their hands that all goods coming from Aſia to Ruſſia over-land, always did and ſtill do paſs. This importation is but ſmall, and it will be long before it can conſiderably increaſe, unleſs ſome way can be found out re-export the goods to ſome foreign market. To evince the truth of this aſſertion, we need but take a curſory view of the preſent ſtate of Ruſſia.

State of the Ruſſian empire, and the means to make it flouriſh.

THIS empire, which, like all others, roſe from ſmall beginnings, is become in proceſs of time the largeſt in the world. Its extent from eaſt to weſt is 2200 leagues, and from ſouth to north about 800.

MANY of the members of this vaſt empire never had any government, and have none to this day. Thoſe who by violence, or from particular circumſtances are become the chief of the reſt, have always been actuated by Aſiatic principles, and have been oppreſſors or arbitrary tyrants. The only thing in which they have conformed to the cuſtoms of Europe, has been the inſtitution of a peerage.

THESE are undoubtedly the chief cauſes which have prevented the increaſe of the human race in that immenſe country. By the ſurvey taken in 1747, there appeared but 6,646,390 perſons who paid the poll tax; and all the males were included in the liſt, from the infant to the oldeſt man. Suppoſing the number of women to be equal to that of men, there will appear to be 13,292,780 ſlaves in Ruſſia. To this calculation muſt be added the orders of men in the empire who are exempt from paying this ſhameful tax; the military, who amount to 200,000 men; the nobility and clergy, who are ſuppoſed to amount to the like number; and the inhabitants of the Ukraine and Livonia, computed at 1,200,000. So that the whole population of Ruſſia does not exceed 14,892,780 perſons of both ſexes.

It would be as needleſs as it is impoſſible, to number the people who rove about thoſe vaſt deſarts. As hords of Tartars, Siberians, Samoiedes, Laplanders and Oſtiacs, cannot contribute to the wealth, ſtrength, or ſplendor of a ſtate, they are to be reckoned as nothing, or as very inconſiderable.

The population being ſmall, the revenues of the empire cannot be conſiderable. When Peter I. came to the crown, the taxes brought in but twenty-five millions [q]; he increaſed them to ſixty-five [r]. Since his death they have not greatly increaſed, and yet the people are ſinking under a burden that is above their ſtrength, which is enervated by deſpotiſm.

It is high time that Ruſſia ſhould think of a remedy againſt this want of population and wealth. The only effectual one is agriculture. It is to no purpoſe to encourage it in the northern provinces; nothing can thrive in thoſe frozen deſarts. The ſcattered inhabitants of that inhoſpitable climate will never have any thing for food and raiment, and to pay their tribute with, but birds, fiſh and wild beaſts.

Further from the north, nature begins to wear a milder aſpect, and the country is more populous, and more capable of vegetation; yet all is languid throughout an immenſe territory, for want of hands and means. The ſoil only wants the encouragement and indulgence of a wiſe government, to enrich its inhabitants. The Ukraine deſerves a particular attention.

That ſpacious region, which has belonged to the Porte and to Poland, and is now a part of the Czar's dominions, is perhaps the moſt fruitful country in the known world. It ſupplies Ruſſia with moſt of her home conſumption, and articles of trade; and yet they do not draw the twentieth part of what it might be made to produce. The Coſſacks, who inhabited that coun-

[q] 1,093,750l. [r] 2,843,750l.

try,

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try, have almoſt all periſhed in fatal expeditions. Some attempts have been made to replace them by Oſtiacs, and Samoiedes, not conſidering that it was ſpoiling the breed to no purpoſe, to introduce a puny race of little deformed creatures amongſt a hardy one of tall, ſtout, and reſolute men. It would be very eaſy and practicable to give encouragement to the Moldavians and Walachians to ſettle there, as they profeſs the ſame religion as Ruſſia, and conſider it as the ſeat of the Greek empire.

NOTHING would be more conducive to cultivation than the working of the mines. Some are to be found in ſeveral provinces, but there is plenty of them in Siberia, though it is a low country, and the ſoil is moiſt and marſhy. The iron that is dug out of theſe mines is better than in any other part of Ruſſia, and equal to that of Sweden. This would employ a number of idle hands, and furniſh excellent implements of huſbandry for the uſe of wretched ſlaves, who are too often forced to dig a hard and ſtubborn ſoil with wooden tools. Siberia not only yields iron, but thoſe precious metals which all men and all nations ſo eagerly covet. The ſilver mines near Argun have long been known, and others, both of ſilver and gold, have lately been diſcovered in the country of the Baſkirs. It would be beſt for ſome nations to neglect and ſtop up theſe ſources of riches; but that is not the caſe with Ruſſia, where all the inland provinces are ſo poor, that they are ſcarce acquainted with money, that univerſal vehicle of trade.

THE trade which the Ruſſians have opened with China, Perſia, Turkey and Poland, conſiſts almoſt entirely in furs, ſuch as ermine, ſables, white wolves and black foxes ſkins, which all come from Siberia. Some ſkins that are remarkably fine, which have very long gloſſy hair, of a beautiful colour, or happen to hit the fancy of the buyer, ſell at a moſt extravagant price. Theſe connec-

tions

tions might become more conſiderable, and be extended to other objects.

But the greateſt demand for the produce of the country will always be on the ſide of the Baltic. It ſeldom paſſes through the hands of the Ruſſian merchants. They commonly want ſkill, ſtock, credit and liberty. The import and export of all commodities is tranſacted by foreign houſes.

No country is ſo happily ſituated for extending its commerce. Almoſt all its rivers are navigable. Peter the Great brought art to the aſſiſtance of nature, and ordered canals to be cut to join thoſe rivers together. The principal of them are now finiſhed; ſome are not quite completed, and ſome are only planned. Such is the grand project of joining the Caſpian ſea to the Euxine, by digging a canal from the Tanais to the Wolga.

Unfortunately theſe means which render the circulation of all commodities ſo eaſy in the interior parts of Ruſſia, and ſo much facilitate an intercourſe with all parts of the globe, are made uſeleſs by thoſe fetters which induſtry cannot ſhake off.

The government have kept in their own hands the buying and ſelling of the moſt valuable productions of the country; and as long as this monopoly continues, the operations of trade will be unfair, and languid. The relinquiſhing of this deſtructive revenue would contribute to public proſperity, but that alone would not be ſufficient, without the reduction of the army.

When Peter I. came to the crown, the military in Ruſſia conſiſted only of 40,000 Strelits, undiſciplined and ferocious men, who had no courage but againſt the people whom they oppreſſed, and againſt the ſovereign whom they depoſed or murdered at pleaſure. This great prince diſcarded that ſeditious militia, and eſtabliſhed

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blished an army, modelled after those of the other states in Europe.

NOTWITHSTANDING the goodness of its troops, Russia is of all the different powers, that which ought to be the most cautious of entering into a war. The desire of acquiring an influence in the affairs of Europe, should never tempt the Russians far from their own frontiers; they could not act without subsidies, and it would be madness for a nation that has but six persons to a league square, ever to think of selling their blood. Nor should they be excited to hostilities by the desire of enlarging their dominions, which are already too extensive. Never will that empire reap the benefit of the labours of its reformer, and form a compact state, or become an enlightened and flourishing nation, unless they renounce the rage of conquest, to apply solely to the peaceful arts. None of their neighbours can force them to depart from that salutary system.

ON the north side, the empire is better guarded by the frozen sea, than it would be by squadrons and fortresses.

To the east, a single battalion and two field pieces, would disperse all the hords of Tartars that should attempt to molest them.

SHOULD Persia rise from its ruins, all efforts from that quarter would be lost in the Caspian sea, and in those immense deserts which separate that country from Russia.

To the south, the Turks are now enfeebled, and the seat of war would be alike destructive to the conquered and to the conqueror.

To the west, the Russians have nothing to fear from the Poles, who never had any fortified towns, nor troops, nor revenue, nor government, and have hardly any territory left.

SWEDEN

SWEDEN has loſt all that made her formidable, and has nothing left but the certainty of being ſtripped of Finland, whenever it ſhall ſuit the intereſt of the court of Peterſburgh.

SHOULD the genius of Frederick, which now makes in the north a counterpoiſe to the forces of Muſcovy, deſcend to his ſucceſſors, it is not likely that the ambition of Brandenburgh ſhould ever turn towards Ruſſia. Thoſe monarchs could never venture an attack upon that empire, without turning their forces alſo towards Germany; and this would neceſſarily divide their ſtrength in ſuch a manner, that it could not act with efficacy.

THE reſult of theſe diſcuſſions is, that it is for the true intereſt of Ruſſia to reduce her land forces, and poſſibly the ſame might hold true with regard to her navy.

THE ſmall connections of that empire with the reſt of Europe, were wholly carried on by land, when the Engliſh, in ſeeking a paſſage to the Eaſt Indies by the northern ſeas, diſcovered the port of Archangel. Sailing up the Dwina, they came to Moſcow, and there laid the foundation of a new trade.

RUSSIA had as yet no other communication with her neighbours but by this port, when Peter I. undertook to invite the traders who frequent the white ſea to come to the Baltic, as a means of procuring a more extenſive and advantageous opportunity of diſpoſing of the produce of his empire. His creative genius went farther ſtill. He was ambitious of becoming a maritime power, and fixed his fleets at Cronſtadt, which is a harbour to Peterſburg.

THE ſea is not broad enough before the baſon of the harbour. The ſhips that are coming in, are forcibly driven by the impetuoſity of the Neva, upon the dangerous coaſts of Finland. The way to it is through a channel

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channel so full of breakers, that they cannot be avoided unless the weather is remarkably fine. The ships soon rot in the harbour. The sending out of the squadrons is greatly retarded by the ice. There is no getting out but by an easterly wind, and the westerly winds blow in those latitudes the greatest part of the summer. Another inconvenience is, that the dock yards are at Petersburg, from whence the ships cannot get to Cronstadt, without passing over a very dangerous flat, that lies in the middle of the river.

If Peter I. had not had that partiality which great men have, as well as others, for their own creations, he might easily have been made sensible that Cronstadt and Petersburg are improper places for the naval forces of Russia, and that it is in vain to expect that art should force nature. He would have given the preference to Revel, which is much fitter for the purpose. Perhaps too, his own reflections would have led him to consider that the nature of his empire was not calculated for that species of power.

Russia has but few sea coasts; most of them are not peopled; and none will ever practise navigation, unless there should be a change of government. Where then would they find officers capable of commanding men of war?

Yet Peter I. found means to form a navy. A passion which nothing could controul, made him surmount obstacles which were thought to be invincible; but it was with more shew than utility. If ever his successors are in earnest for the good of their empire, they will forego the vain glory of making a parade of their flag in distant latitudes, where they have no trade to protect, as theirs is all carried on upon their own coasts, and only by foreign merchants. When the Russians thus change their system, they will save the needless expence of thirty-six or forty men of war, and be content with

with their galleys, which are quite ſufficient for their defence, and would even enable them to attack all the powers on the Baltic, if there ſhould be occaſion for it.

THOSE galleys are of different rates: ſome are fitted for the uſe of the cavalry, but a greater number for that of the infantry. As the whole crew conſiſts of ſoldiers, who are taught to handle the oar, their expeditions are never retarded, nor attended with any expence. They come to an anchor every night, and land where they are leaſt expected.

WHEN the landing is accompliſhed, the troops draw the galleys aſhore, and intrench themſelves in a body. Part of the army are left as a guard, and the reſt diſperſe about the country that they intend to lay under contribution. When the expedition is over, they reimbark, and repeat their devaſtations in other places. Experience has ſhewn how much may be done by theſe armaments.

THE changes we have ſuggeſted, are indiſpenſably neceſſary to put Ruſſia in a flouriſhing condition; but this is not the only thing required. To inſure the continuance of her proſperity, ſome ſtability muſt be given to the order of the ſucceſſion. The crown of Ruſſia was long hereditary; Peter I. made it patrimonial; and it became elective at the laſt revolution. But every nation would wiſh to know upon what right its government is eſtabliſhed; and the claim that ſtrikes the people moſt is birthright. When this viſible ſign is removed from the eyes of the multitude, there is nothing but revolt and diſſention.

BUT it is not enough to give the people a ſovereign whom they cannot refuſe to acknowledge, that ſovereign muſt make them happy, and this can never be done in Ruſſia, till the form of government is changed.

CIVIL ſlavery is the condition of every ſubject in that empire, who is not noble: they are all at the diſpoſal

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of their barbarous maſters, as cattle are in other countries. Amongſt theſe ſlaves, none are ſo ill uſed as thoſe who till the ground; thoſe valuable men, whoſe eaſe, happineſs, and freedom have been celebrated with ſuch enthuſiaſm in happier climes.

POLITICAL ſlavery is the lot of the whole nation, ſince the ſovereigns have eſtabliſhed arbitrary power. Among the ſubjects who are conſidered as free, not one can be morally certain of the ſafety of his perſon, the property of his fortune, or even of his liberty, which may at any time be taken away, except in ſome caſes previouſly determined by law.

EUROPE has long been entertained with the project of a code of laws preparing for Ruſſia. The auguſt princeſs, who now governs that empire, well knew, that the people themſelves muſt approve the laws they are to obey, that they may reverence and love them as their own work; and thus addreſſed the deputies from all the cities of her vaſt empire. *My children, conſider well with me the intereſts of the nation; let us together draw up a body of laws, which may eſtabliſh public felicity upon a ſolid baſis.* But what are laws without magiſtrates? What are magiſtrates, whoſe ſentence the deſpot may reverſe according to his own caprice, and even puniſh him for paſſing it.

UNDER ſuch a government, no tie can ſubſiſt between the members and their head. If he is always formidable to them, they are no leſs ſo to him. The ſtrength he exerts to oppreſs them, is no other than their own united ſtrength turned againſt themſelves. Deſpair, or a nobler ſentiment, may every moment turn it againſt him.

THE reſpect due to the memory of ſo great a man as Peter I. ought not to prevent us from declaring that he had not the gift of ſeeing at one view all the requiſites for a well conſtituted ſtate. He was born with genius, and had been inſpired with a love of glory. This paſſion made

made him active, patient, aſſiduous, indefatigable, and capable of conquering every difficulty he met with in the purſuit of his ſchemes, whether they proceeded from nature, ignorance, cuſtom or obſtinacy. With theſe virtues, and the foreign aids he called in, he ſucceeded in eſtabliſhing an army, a fleet, and a ſea port. He made ſeveral regulations neceſſary for the proſecution of his bold projects; but though fame has proclaimed him under the ſublime title of a law-giver, he barely enacted two or three laws, and thoſe few bear the ſtamp of a ſavage diſpoſition. He never proceeded ſo far as to combine the happineſs of his people, with his own perſonal greatneſs. After his noble inſtitutions, his people were as wretched as ever, and ſtill groaned under poverty, ſlavery, and oppreſſion. He never relaxed in any one inſtance his deſpotic ſway, but rather made it more oppreſſive, and bequeathed to his ſucceſſors that deteſtable and pernicious notion, that the ſubjects are nothing, and that the ſovereign is all.

SINCE his death, it has been repeatedly aſſerted that the nation was not yet ſufficiently enlightened to be benefited by liberty. Let flattering courtiers, and falſe miniſters learn, that liberty is the birthright of all men; that it is the buſineſs of a well regulated ſociety to direct and guide it to the good of all; and that it is unlawful power that has robbed the greateſt part of the globe of that natural advantage.

CATHERINE, who ſeems to have aſcended the throne with an ambition for great things, begins to be ſenſible that ravages committed in the deſerts of Moldavia, and in ſome defenceleſs iſlands, bought with the lives of two or three hundred thouſand men, will not endear her name to poſterity. She is labouring to inſtill notions of liberty into a people ſtupified by ſlavery; but it is doubtful whether ſhe will ſucceed with regard to the preſent generation.

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WITH regard to the next, perhaps the beſt way would be, to chuſe out one of the moſt fertile provinces of the empire, there to build houſes, to furniſh them with all the implements of huſbandry, and to allot a portion of land to each houſe. It would then be proper to invite free men from civilized countries, to give them the full property of the houſes and lands prepared for them, to ſecure to them a ſubſiſtence for three years, and to have them governed by a chief who has no property in the country. A toleration ſhould be granted to all religions, and conſequently private and domeſtic worſhip ſhould be allowed, but no public worſhip.

FROM thence the ſeeds of liberty would ſpread all over the empire: the adjacent countries would ſee the happineſs of theſe coloniſts, and wiſh to be as happy as they are. Were I to be caſt among ſavages, I would not bid them build huts to ſhelter them from the inclemency of the weather; they would only laugh at me; but I would build one myſelf. When the ſevere ſeaſon came on, I ſhould enjoy the benefit of my foreſight; the ſavage would ſee it, and next year he would imitate me. It is the ſame with an enſlaved nation; we are not to bid them be free, but we are to lay before their eyes the ſweets of liberty, and they will wiſh for them.

I WOULD by no means impoſe upon my coloniſts the burden of the firſt expences I had incurred on their account; much leſs would I entail the pretended debt upon their offſpring. This would be falſe and inhuman policy. Is not a ſtate ſufficiently rewarded by a man of twenty, twenty-five or thirty years of age, who brings it the gift of his perſon, his ſtrength, his talents and his life? Muſt he pay a rent likewiſe for the preſent he makes? When he becomes opulent, he may be treated as a ſubject, but not till the third or fourth generation, if the project is meant to ſucceed, and if the people are to be brought

brought to that condition, the advantages of which they have had time to be acquainted with.

In this new arrangement of perſons and things, where the intereſts of the monarch will be blended with thoſe of the ſubject, in order to ſtrengthen Ruſſia, ſhe muſt aim leſs at glory, and ſacrifice the influence ſhe has aſſumed over the general affairs of Europe. Peterſburg, which has improperly been made a capital, muſt be reduced to a meer commercial ſtaple; and the ſeat of government transferred to the heart of the empire. It is from ſuch a center of dominion, that a wiſe ſovereign, acquainted with the wants and reſources of his people, will effectually labour to unite the detached parts of that large empire. From the ſuppreſſion of every kind of ſlavery, will ſpring up a middle ſtate among the people, without which, neither arts, manners, nor learning, ever exiſted in any nation.

Till this is accompliſhed, the court of Ruſſia will ſtrive in vain to enlighten the nation, by inviting famous men from all countries. Thoſe exotics will periſh there, as foreign plants do in our green-houſes. In vain will they erect ſchools and academies at Peterſburg; in vain will they ſend pupils to Paris and to Rome, to be trained up under the beſt maſters. Thoſe young people, on their return from their travels, will be forced to drop their talents, and embrace a ſubaltern condition to get a livelihood. In all things, we muſt begin at the right end; and the way to do this is certainly to encourage mechanic arts, and the lower claſſes of men. Learn to till the ground, to dreſs ſkins, to manufacture your wool, and you will ſoon ſee wealthy families ſpring up. From theſe will ariſe children, who, not chuſing to follow the laborious profeſſions of their fathers, will begin to think, to converſe, to arrange ſyllables, and to imitate nature; and then you will have philoſophers, orators, poets, painters, and ſtatuaries. Their produc-

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tions will become neceſſary to rich men, and they will purchaſe them. As long as men are in want they will work, and continue to work till their wants are ſatisfied. Then they grow lazy and weary of themſelves; and the finer arts are in all places the offspring of genius and idleneſs, for men fly to them when they have no other means of employment.

If we attend to the progreſs of ſociety, we ſhall find huſbandmen plundered by robbers; theſe huſbandmen chuſe ſome from among themſelves to oppoſe the robbers, and thus they commence ſoldiers. Whilſt ſome are reaping, and the reſt ſtanding ſentinel, a parcel of by-ſtanders ſay to the labourers and ſoldiers, you ſeem to be hard at work; if you huſbandmen will feed us, and you ſoldiers will defend us, we will beguile your labours with our ſongs and dances. Thus we have the bard and the man of letters. In proceſs of time, this man of letters is ſometimes linked with the chief againſt the people, and ſings the praiſes of tyranny; ſometimes with the people againſt the tyrant, and then he ſings the praiſes of liberty. In both caſes, he is become a citizen of conſequence.

Let us follow the conſtant march of nature, and indeed it would be in vain to depart from it. We ſhall ſee all our efforts and expences come to nothing, and every thing decaying around us; we ſhall find ourſelves in much the ſame barbarous ſtate, from whence we ſtrove to diſengage ourſelves, and thus we ſhall remain till ſome incident calls forth a natural police out of our own lands; for as to foreign aids, they can at moſt but haſten its progreſs. We are to expect nothing more, and to cultivate our own advantages.

In this we ſhall find another advantage, which is that the arts and ſciences of our own growth will gradually advance towards perfection, and we ſhall be originals; whereas, if we borrow foreign models, we ſhall be ig-

norant of the cauſe of their perfection, and we ſhall never be any thing more than imperfect copiſts.

THE picture we have allowed ourſelves to draw of Ruſſia, may be thought to be an improper digreſſion; but this may, poſſibly, be a favourable opportunity of ſetting a juſt value upon a power, which for ſome years paſt, has acted ſo conſpicuous and ſplendid a part. Let us now inquire into the connections the other European nations have formed with China.

Connections of the Europeans with China. State of that empire with reſpect to its trade.

CHINA is a nation in which there are fewer idle people, than in any other part of the world, perhaps, the only one where there are none. Though they have the art of printing, and all the general means of education, they can ſhew neither a capital building, nor a beautiful ſtatue, nor any elegant compoſitions in poetry, nor proſe; they have no muſick, nor painting; nor have they any knowledge, but what an obſerving man might acquire by himſelf, and by his induſtry carry to a great degree of perfection. As their cuſtoms allow of no emigration, and that the empire is extremely populous, their labours are confined to neceſſaries. More profit attends the invention of the ſmalleſt uſeful art, than the moſt ſublime diſcovery that only ſhews an exertion of genius. A man who can turn the cuttings of gauze to ſome uſe, is more eſteemed than one who can ſolve the moſt difficult problem. In this country eſpecially, the following queſtion is frequently put, which is indeed too often aſked amongſt ourſelves. *What is that good for?* When they are apprehenſive of a ſcarcity, all the citizens exert their utmoſt efforts, and loſe not a moment of time. Intereſt muſt be the ſecret or open ſpring of all their actions. They muſt therefore of courſe be addicted to lying, fraud, and theft; and muſt be mean ſpirited, narrow minded, ſelfiſh, and covetous.

AN European who buys ſilks at Canton; is cheated in the quantity, quality, and price. The goods are car-

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ried on board; where the diſhoneſty of the Chineſe merchant is ſoon detected. When he comes for his money, the European tells him: Chineſe, thou haſt cheated me; that may be, replies the Chineſe, but you muſt pay. But, ſays the European, thou art a rogue, a ſcoundrel, a wretch. European, anſwers the Chineſe, that may be, but I muſt be paid. The European pays, the Chineſe takes his money, and ſays at parting; what has thy anger availed thee? What haſt thou got by abuſing me? Would it not have been much better to have paid at once, and have held thy tongue. Wherever men are hardened to inſults, and do not bluſh at diſhoneſty, the empire may be very well governed, but the morals of the people muſt be very bad.

THIS diſpoſition for lucre, made the Chineſe renounce the uſe of gold and ſilver coin in their inland trade. They were forced to it by the daily increaſe of falſe coiners, and were reduced to the neceſſity of circulating none but copper money.

COPPER becoming ſcarce, though hiſtory has not informed us by what means, thoſe ſhells were afterwards brought into uſe, ſo well known by the name of cowries. The government having obſerved that the people grew tired of ſuch brittle money, ordered that all copper veſſels in the empire ſhould be brought to the mint. This ill judged expedient proving inſufficient to anſwer the demands of the public, they pulled down about four hundred temples of the God Fo, and melted down all his idols. After this, the court paid the magiſtrates and the army, partly in copper, and partly in paper. The people were ſo exaſperated at theſe dangerous innovations, that the government was obliged to drop them. From that time, which was three hundred years ago, copper coin is the only legal money.

NOTWITHSTANDING the ſelfiſh diſpoſition of the Chineſe, their foreign connections were but ſmall. The little

little intercourse they had with other nations proceeded from the contempt in which they held them. They grew desirous however of frequenting the neighbouring ports; and the Tartar government, less jealous than the former of keeping up old customs, favoured this means of increasing the wealth of the nation. Expeditions were openly made, whereas before they were only tolerated by the selfish governors of the maritime provinces. A people famed for their wisdom, could not fail of meeting with a favourable reception. They took advantage of the high opinion other nations entertained of their taste, to recommend the commodities they had to dispose of, and their industry extended itself on the continent as well as by sea.

China at present trades with the Corea, which is supposed to have been originally peopled with Tartars. It was certainly conquered by them several times, and has been sometimes enslaved by, and sometimes independent of, the Chinese; to whom it now pays tribute. Thither they carry china ware, tea, and silks; and in return bring home hemp and cotton, and an ordinary sort of ginseng.

The Tartars, who may be considered as foreigners, purchase of the Chinese, woollen stuffs, rice, tea, tobacco, for which they give them sheep, oxen, furs, and chiefly ginseng. This shrub grows only upon the highest mountains, in the thickest forests, and about the craggy rocks. The stem is hairy, strait, round, and of a deep red, except towards the bottom, where it becomes whitish. It grows to the height of about eighteen inches. Towards the top, it throws out branches which bear oblong leaves, that are small, woolly, jagged, of a dark green on the upper side, and whitish and glossy on the back. The age of the shrub is known by the shoots, and the older it is, the better. The virtues of the ginseng are many, but it is generally allowed

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to be a ſtrengthener of the ſtomach, and a purifier of the blood. The Chineſe are ſo fond of it, that they never think they can pay too dear for it. The government ſends out ten thouſand Tartar ſoldiers every year to gather this plant, and every one is obliged to bring two ounces of the beſt ginſeng gratis, and for the reſt they are paid its weight in ſilver. Private perſons are not allowed to gather it. This odious prohibition does not prevent their going in ſearch of it. If they did not break this unjuſt law, they would not be able to pay for the commodities they buy in the empire, and conſequently muſt go without them.

We have already taken notice of the trade of China, with the Ruſſians. At preſent it is of little conſequence, but it may and muſt become conſiderable.

Their trade with leſſer Bucharia, is nothing more than bartering tea, tobacco, and woollen cloth for the gold duſt they find in their ſtreams, when the ſnow begins to melt. If ever thoſe ſavages learn to work the mines that their mountains are full of, their connections, which are now ſo few, will ſoon increaſe, and it is impoſſible to determine how far they may be extended.

The empire is parted from the Mogul dominions and other parts of the Indies, by ſands, mountains, and rocks, which make all communication impracticable; ſo that their inland trade is ſo contracted, that it does not exceed eight or nine millions *. Their trade by ſea is more conſiderable.

It is ſupported by their ſilks, their tea, their china, and ſome articles of leſs conſequence. Japan pays the Chineſe in copper and gold; the Philippines with piaſtres; Batavia with pepper and other ſpices; Siam with woods for dying, and with varniſh; Tonquin with ſilk, and Cochinchina with ſugar and gold. All theſe ſeveral branches put together may amount to thirty mil-

* On an average, about 372,000l.

lions,

lions*, and employ a hundred and fifty veſſels. The Chineſe get at leaſt cent, per cent. upon theſe articles, of which Cochinchina pays half. Their correſpondents in moſt of the markets they frequent, are deſcendents of ſuch of their countrymen as fled from their own country, when the Tartars made themſelves maſters of it.

THE trade of China, which to the north does not extend farther than Japan, nor to the eaſt beyond the ſtreights of Malacca and the Sound, would probably have been carried farther, if the Chineſe ſhip-builders had not been ſo wedded to their old cuſtoms, and had condeſcended to receive inſtruction from the Europeans.

THOSE who firſt appeared upon the coaſts of China, were admitted alike into all the roads. Their extreme familiarity with the women, their violence with the men, and repeated acts of haughtineſs and indiſcretion, made them forfeit that privilege; and now they are only ſuffered to put in at Canton, the ſouthermoſt harbour of the empire.

THIS city ſtands on the banks of the Tigris, a large river, that on one ſide communicates with the remoteſt provinces by means of ſeveral canals, and on the other brings up the largeſt ſhips to the very walls of the city. Formerly our ſhips were to be ſeen there intermixed with the Chineſe veſſels, but now they oblige all European ſhips to ſtop at Hoaung-pon, four leagues from the city. It is not clear whether they were induced to take this precaution from the fear of being ſurpriſed, or whether it was a contrivance of men in power for their own private intereſt. The miſtruſtful and rapacious diſpoſition of the Chineſe might give room for both theſe conjectures.

THIS regulation did not affect the perſonal ſituation of the navigators; they ſtill enjoyed in Canton all the

* 1,312,500 l.

freedom

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freedom that is conſiſtent with public order. Their profeſſion inclined them to abuſe this freedom, and they ſoon grew tired of ſo much circumſpection as is requiſite under a government full of formalities. They were puniſhed for their imprudence, and forbidden all acceſs to men in power. The magiſtrate wearied out with their perpetual complaints, would no longer hear them, but through the channel of interpreters who were dependent on the Chineſe merchants. All Europeans were ordered to reſide in one particular part of the town, that was allotted to them. None were exempted but ſuch as could ſomewhere find a perſon who would be anſwerable for their good behaviour. The reſtraints were made ſtill more grievous in 1760. The court being informed by the Engliſh that the trade laboured under ſcandalous hardſhips, ſent commiſſaries from Pekin, who were bribed by the parties accuſed. Upon the report made by theſe corrupt men, all the Europeans were confined in a few houſes, where they could treat with none but ſuch merchants as had an excluſive privilege. This monopoly has lately been aboliſhed, but the other grievances ſtill continue the ſame.

THESE mortifications have not diſguſted us of trading to China. We continue to fetch from thence tea, china, raw ſilk, manufactured ſilks, varniſh, paper, and ſome leſſer articles.

The Europeans buy tea at China.

TEA is a ſhrub about as high as our pomegrenate or myrtle. It is propagated by ſeeds, which are ſown in holes three or four inches deep. Nothing is uſed but the leaves. It bears great plenty when it is three years old, but fewer at ſeven. It is then cut down to the ſtem, and ſhoots out ſprigs, every one of which bears nearly as many leaves as a whole ſhrub.

TEA is cultivated in moſt provinces in China, but is not equally good every where, though they are always careful to place it in a ſouthern aſpect and in valleys.

valleys. That which grows in ſtony ground is far preferable to what grows in a light ſoil, but the worſt ſort is that which is produced in a clayiſh ground.

THE different degree of perfection in tea is not owing alone to the difference of ſoil; but ſtill more to the ſeaſon in which it is gathered.

THE firſt crop is gathered in March, when the leaves are yet ſmall, tender and delicate, and this is called imperial tea, becauſe it is chiefly reſerved for the uſe of the court and people of faſhion. The ſecond crop is gathered in April; the leaves are then larger and more ſpread, but of leſſer quality than the firſt. The laſt and coarſeſt tea is gathered in May. It is cloſely packed up in common pewter boxes, that the air may not get at it, which would make it loſe its flavour.

TEA is the common drink of the Chineſe. The uſe of it was not introduced from vain caprice. Almoſt throughout the empire, the waters are unwholeſome and nauſeous. Of all the methods that were tried to better them, none ſucceeded ſo well as tea. Upon trial it was thought to be endued with many virtues, and extolled as an excellent diſſolvent, a purifier of the blood, a ſtrengther of the head and ſtomach, and a promoter of digeſtion and perſpiration.

THE high opinion which the firſt Europeans conceived of the inhabitants, induced them to adopt their notion of tea, though perhaps they over-rated it. We caught their enthuſiaſm, and it has gone on increaſing in the North of Europe and America, where the air is thick and loaded with vapours.

THOUGH, in general, prejudice goes a great way, yet it muſt be allowed that tea produces ſome good effects in thoſe countries where it is univerſally drunk; however, they cannot be ſo great any where as in China. We know the Chineſe keep the beſt tea for themſelves, and that they adulterate that intended for exportation,

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exportation, by mixing with it other leaves, which reſemble thoſe of tea in ſhape, but may not have the ſame properties. We know too that ſince the exportation has been ſo great, they are not ſo curious in the choice of the ſoil, nor ſo nice in the preparing of it. Our manner of uſing it, may likewiſe contribute to leſſen its virtues. We drink it too hot and too ſtrong; we put in a great deal of ſugar, frequently perfumes, and ſometimes pernicious liquors. Beſides all this, its coming ſo far by ſea is alone ſufficient to exhauſt moſt of its ſalubrious ſalts.

We ſhall never be able to paſs a definitive judgment on the virtues of tea, till it is tranſplanted into our own climates. We began to deſpair of ſucceſs, though the experiments had been only made with ſeed, and it is ſaid with bad ſeed. At laſt a tree has been brought over, the ſtem of which meaſured ſix inches, and it has been put into the hands of Linnæus, the moſt celebrated botaniſt in Europe. He has found means to preſerve it, and he is in hopes he will be able to propagate it in open air, even in Sweden, ſince it thrives in the northern parts of China. It will be a very great advantage to us, if we can cultivate a plant at home, which can never ſuffer more by change of ſoil, than by growing muſty in the long paſſage it muſt undergo in bringing from abroad. Not long ago we had as little proſpect of attaining to the art of making china.

The Europeans buy Porcelain in China.

Some years ago there were in the collection of Count de Caylus two or three little fragments of a vaſe, ſuppoſed to be Egyptian, which being carefully analyſed, proved to be unglazed china. If that learned man has not been miſinformed, the art of making porcelain was already known in the flouriſhing days of ancient Egypt. But without ſome more authentic monuments than a ſingle fact, we muſt not rob China of this invention, where its origin is loſt in the greateſt antiquity.

Egypt

EGYPT is ſuppoſed by many to have the pre-eminence in point of antiquity, both in regard to its foundation, and to laws, ſciences and arts in general, though perhaps China may have as good a claim; but who knows whether theſe two empires, are not equally ancient, and have not received all their ſocial inſtitutions from a people inhabiting the vaſt region that divides them? Whether the ſavage inhabitants of the great mountains of Aſia, after wandering about for many ages, in the continent that makes the center of our hemiſphere, have not inſenſibly diſperſed along the coaſt of the ſurrounding ſeas, and formed themſelves into ſeparate nations in China, India, Perſia and Egypt? Whether the ſucceſſive floods which may have happened in that part of the world, may not have hemmed them in, and confined them to thoſe regions, interſected with mountains and deſerts. Theſe conjectures are not altogether foreign to the hiſtory of commerce, as that muſt one time or other caſt a greater light upon the general hiſtory of mankind, of their nations, opinions, and inventions of every kind.

THE art of making porcelain is, if not one of the moſt wonderful, at leaſt one of the moſt pleaſing that men have ever diſcovered, as neatneſs is preferable to finery.

CHINA is a ſpecies of earthern ware, the moſt perfect of any. It varies in colour, texture and tranſparency. Tranſparency indeed is not ſo eſſential to it, but that a great deal of very fine china does not poſſeſs this quality.

CHINA is commonly covered with white or coloured varniſh. This varniſh is nothing but a layer of melted glaſs, which muſt never be but half tranſparent. This is ſtiled glazed poreclain, and is properly what we call china; and the unglazed is diſtinguiſhed by the name of porcelain biſcuit. This is intrinſically as good as the other,

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other, but is neither ſo neat, ſo bright, nor ſo beautiful.

THE word earthen ware ſuits the definition of China, becauſe, as all other earthen ware, the ſubſtance of it is pure earth, without any alteration from art but the mere diviſion of its parts. No metallic or ſaline ſubſtance whatever muſt enter into its compoſition, not even in the glazing, which muſt be made of ſubſtances nearly, if not altogether, as ſimple.

THE beſt china, and commonly the cloſeſt, is that which is made of the ſimpleſt materials, ſuch as a vitrifiable ſtone, and a pure and white clay. On this laſt ſubſtance depend the cloſeneſs and compactneſs of porcelain, and indeed of earthen ware in general.

THE connoiſſeurs divide the china that comes from Aſia into ſix claſſes; the trouted china, the old white, the japan, the Chineſe, the Chineſe japan, and the Indian. Theſe ſeveral appellations rather denote a difference to the eye than a real diſtinction.

THE trouted china, which no doubt is called ſo from the reſemblance it bears to the ſcales of a trout, ſeems to be the moſt ancient, and ſavours moſt of the infancy of the art. It has two imperfections. The paſte is always very brown, and the ſurface appears all full of cracks. Theſe cracks are not only in the glazing, but in the china itſelf; and therefore this ſort is hardly tranſparent, does not ſound well, is very brittle, and bears the fire better than any other. To hide theſe cracks, they paint it with a variety of colours; in this kind of ornament conſiſts its only value. The eaſe with which Count Lauragais has imitated it, has convinced us that it is only an imperfect ſort of china.

The old white is certainly very beautiful, whether we conſider only the outſide, or examine the inſide. This is very curious china, but very ſcarce, and but little uſed.

used. The paste seems to be extremely short, and fit only for small vases, figures, and other ornamental china. It is sold in trade for japan, though they certainly make very fine of this sort in China. It is of two different hues; the one a perfect cream colour, the other a bluish white, which makes it look more transparent. The glazing seems to be more incorporated into this last. They have tried to imitate this sort at St. Cloud, and some pieces have been produced, that looked very fine, but those who have narrowly examined them have said they were no better than frit or lead, and would not stand a comparison.

The japan is not so easily distinguished as most people imagine, from the finest of the sort made in China. A skilful adept whom we have consulted, pretends that in general the glazing of the true japan is whiter, and has less of the bluish cast than the porcelain of China, that the ornaments are laid on with less profusion, that the blue is brighter, and the patterns and flowers not so whimsical, and better copied from nature. His opinion seems to be confirmed by the testimony of some writers, who tell us that the Chinese who trade to Japan, bring home some pieces of china that make more shew than their own, but are not so solid; and that they serve to decorate their apartments, but they never use them, because they will not bear the fire well. All china glazed with coloured varnish, whether sea green, bluish or purple, he believes to be Chinese. All the japan we have here comes from the Dutch, who are the only Europeans that are suffered to come into that empire. Possibly they may have picked it out of the porcelains brought thither every year by the Chinese, or they may have bought it at Canton. In either case, the distinction between the porcelain of Japan and that of China would be false in fact, and merely founded on

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prejudice. The result however of this opinion is that what is sold here for japan is very fine china.

THERE is less doubt about what we call porcelain of China. The glazing has a bluer cast than that of Japan, it is more highly coloured, and the patterns are more whimsical. The paste is in general whiter and more compact; the grain finer and closer, and the china thinner. Amongst the several sorts they make in China, there is one that is very ancient; it is very coarse, very thick and very heavy. Some of this sort is trouted, and the grain is often dry and brown. That which is not trouted has a good sound, but both want transparency. It is sold for old china, and the finest pieces are supposed to come from Japan. It was originally a better sort of earthern ware, rather than a true porcelain; time and experience may have improved it. It is grown more transparent, and the colours being more carefully laid on, they look brighter. The essential difference between this and other china is, that this is made of a shorter paste, and is very hard and solid. The pieces of this china have always at the bottom the marks of three or four supporters, which were put to prevent its giving way in baking. By this contrivance, they have succeeded in making very large pieces of china. Those that are not of this sort, and which is called modern Chinese, are of a longer paste and finer grain, and are higher glazed, whiter and clearer. They seldom have the marks of the supporters, and their transparency has nothing glassy in it. All that is made with this paste is easily turned, so that it is visible the workman's hand has glided over it, as over a fine smooth clay. There is an infinite variety of this sort of china, both as to form, colouring, workmanship and price.

A fifth sort is what we call chinese japan, because it unites the ornaments of the porcelain which is thought to come from Japan, with those that are more in the Chinese

Chineſe taſte. Amongſt this kind of china, there is ſome that is ornamented with a very fine blue, with white ſcrolls. The glazing is a true white enamel, whereas that of the other ſorts is half tranſparent, for the Chineſe varniſh is never entirely ſo.

THE colours in general are laid on in the ſame manner, both on the true china and the imitations of it. The firſt and moſt ſolid of them is the blue that is extracted from ſmalt, which is nothing more than the calx of cobalt. This colour is commonly laid on before the pieces are either glazed or baked, ſo that the glazing that is put on afterwards ſerves as a diſſolvent. All the other colours, and even the blue that enters into the compoſition on the pallet, are laid on over the glazing, and muſt firſt be mixed up and ground with a ſaline ſubſtance or calx of lead, that favours their ingreſs into the glazing. It is a pretty common thing for the Chineſe to colour the whole of the glazing; then the colour is laid on neither over nor under, but incorporates into the glazing itſelf. Some very extraordinary fanciful ornaments are made in this manner. Whatever way the colours are applied, they are commonly extracted from cobalt, gold, iron, mineral earths, and copper. That which is extracted from copper is a very delicate colour, and requires great nicety in the preparation.

ALL the ſorts of china we have deſcribed are made at King-to-ching, an immenſe town in the province of Kiamſi. This manufacture employs five hundred furnaces and a million of men. They have tried to imitate it at Pekin and other places of the empire, but have not ſucceeded any where, though they employed the ſame workmen, and uſed the ſame materials; ſo that they have univerſally given up this branch of induſtry, except in the neighbourhood of Canton, where they make a ſort of China, that is known here by the name of India china. The paſte is long and yielding; but in

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general the colours, especially the blue, and the red of mars, are far inferior to what comes from Japan and the interior parts of China. All the colours, except the blue, stand up in lumps, and are very badly laid on. This is the only china that has purple, which has given rise to that foolish notion of its being painted in Holland. Most of the cups and plates and other vessels our merchants bring home are of this manufacture, which is less esteemed in China than our delft is here.

We have endeavoured to introduce this art amongst us. It has succeeded best in Saxony. Theirs is true china, and probably made with very simple materials, though prepared and mixed with more art than in Asia. This curious preparation, together with the scarcity of the materials, is no doubt what makes the Dresden china so dear. As there is but one sort of paste that comes from that manufacture, it has been surmised, and not without some degree of probability, that the Saxons were only in possession of their own secret, and by no means of the art of making china. What seems to confirm this suspicion is the great affinity between the Saxon and other German china, which seems to be made upon the same principle.

However this be, it is certain no china is higher glazed, smoother, better shaped, more pleasing to the eye, or more solid and durable. It will resist a fierce fire much longer than many of the sorts made in China. The colours are finely disposed, and executed in a masterly manner; none are so well adapted to the glazing; they are blended with great exactness; they are bright, without being drowned and chilled, like most of those made at Sevre.

The mention of this reminds us, that we must take notice of the china made in France. This, like the English china, is only made with frit, that is, with stones that are not fusible in themselves, but receive a

beginning

beginning of fuſion from the mixture of a greater or leſſer quantity of ſalt; and accordingly it is more glaſſy, of a looſer texture, and more brittle than any other. That of Sevre, which is by far the worſt of all, and always looks yelloviſh and dirty, which betrays the lead they put into the glazing, has no other merit than what it derives from the capital hands that are employed for the patterns and the penciling. Theſe great maſters have diſplayed ſo much taſte in the execution of ſome of the pieces, that they will be the admiration of poſterity; but in itſelf, this ware will never be but an object of taſte, luxury and expence. The ſupporters will always be a principal cauſe of its dearneſs.

All china, when it receives the laſt ſtroke of the fire, is actually in a ſtate that has a tendency to fuſion, and is ſoft and pliable, like red hot iron. There is none but what will bend and give way when it is in that ſtate. If the pieces, when they are turned, are thicker or project more on one ſide than another, the ſtrongeſt will infallibly bear away the weakeſt; they will warp to that ſide, and the piece is ſpoiled. They guard againſt this inconvenience, by propping it up with bits of china made of the ſame paſte, of different ſhapes, which they apply under or againſt the parts that project, and are moſt in danger of warping. As all china ſhrinks in baking, the ſubſtance of the props muſt not only be ſuch as will ſhrink too, but ſuch as will ſhrink neither more nor leſs than the piece they are intended to ſupport. As the different paſtes do not ſhrink alike, it follows that the props muſt be of the ſame paſte as the piece that is baking.

The ſofter the china is, and the more inclining to vitrification, the more it wants to be propped up. This is the great fault of the Sevre china; the paſte is very coſtly, and very often more of it is waſted in props, than goes to the making of the piece itſelf. The neceſſity of

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this expenſive method draws on another inconvenience. The glazing cannot be baked at the ſame time as the china, which therefore muſt go twice into the furnace. The porcelain made in China, and the beſt imitations of it, being of a ſtiffer paſte, and leſs ſuſceptible of vitrification, ſeldom want any props, and are baked ready glazed. They conſequently conſume much leſs paſte, are ſeldom ſpoiled, take up leſs time, and leſs firing, and give leſs trouble.

Some writers have urged in favour of the ſuperiority of Aſiatic china, that it reſiſts fire better than ours; that all European china will melt in that of Saxony, but that the Dreſden itſelf will melt in the foreign china. This aſſertion is utterly falſe, if taken in its full extent. Few porcelains of China will ſtand the fire ſo well as the Dreſden; they ſpoil and bubble in the fire that bakes that made by Count Lauragais; but that is of no conſequence, or of very little. China is not intended to go back into the furnace when once it is come out, nor is it deſtined to bear the action of an intenſe fire.

It is in point of ſolidity that the foreign china truly excels that of Europe; it is by the property of heating quicker and with leſs riſque, and ſafely bearing the ſudden impreſſion of cold or boiling hot liquors; it is by the eaſe with which it is moulded and baked, which is an ineſtimable advantage, as they can make pieces of all ſizes with great eaſe, bake them without any riſque, can be afforded cheaper, they are of general uſe, and conſequently the object of a more extenſive trade.

Another great advantage of the India china is, that the ſame paſte is very uſeful for making crucibles, and a thouſand ſuch implements uſed in the other arts. Theſe veſſels not only reſiſt longeſt in the fire, but communicate nothing of their ſubſtance to what is melted in them. This ſubſtance is ſo pure, ſo white, ſo compact and

and ſo hard, that it will hardly melt at all, and gives no tinge to any thing.

FRANCE is at the eve of enjoying all theſe advantages. It is certain that Count Lauragais, who has long been in ſearch of the ſecret of the Chineſe, has at laſt made ſome china that is very like it. His materials have the ſame properties, and if they are not the very ſame, at leaſt they are ſpecies of the ſame genus. Like the Chineſe, he can make his paſte long or ſhort, and follow either his own or ſome other proceſs. His china is not inferior to that of the Chineſe in point of pliableneſs, and is ſuperior to it in point of glazing; perhaps too it takes the colours better. If he can but bring it to have as fine and as white a grain, we may very well do without the porcelain of China; but we cannot ſo well do without their ſilk.

The Europeans buy ſilks in China.

THE annals of that empire aſcribe the diſcovery of ſilk to one of the wives of the emperor Hoangti. The empreſſes amuſed themſelves with breeding worms, drawing the ſilk, and working it. It is even ſaid that in the interior part of the palace, there was a piece of ground which was ſet apart for the culture of mulberry trees. The empreſs, attended by the chief ladies of her court, went herſelf and gathered the leaves of the lower branches, that were brought down within her reach. This wiſe policy ſo much promoted this branch of induſtry, that the nation, which before was only clothed in ſkins, ſoon appeared dreſſed in ſilk. In a ſhort time, perfection was added to plenty. They were indebted for this laſt advantage to the writings of ſome ingenious men, and even of ſome miniſters, who did not think it beneath them to attend to this new art. All China learnt from their theory every thing belonging to it.

THE art of breeding ſilk worms, and of ſpinning and weaving their ſilk, ſpread from China to India and

BOOK V. Perſia, where it made no very rapid progreſs; if it had, Rome would not, at the end of the third century, have given a pound of gold for a pound of ſilk. Greece having adopted this art in the eighth century, ſilks were a little more known, but did not grow common. They were long conſidered as an article of grandeur, and reſerved for the moſt eminent ſtations, and the greateſt ſolemnities. At laſt Roger, king of Sicily, ſent for workmen from Athens, and the culture of the mulberry tree ſoon extended from that iſland to the neighbouring continent. Other countries in Europe wiſhed to partake of an advantage that procured ſo much wealth to Italy, and they attained to it after ſome fruitleſs attempts. However, from the nature of the climate, or ſome other cauſe, it has not ſucceeded every where alike.

THE ſilks of Naples, Sicily, and Reggio, whether in organzin, or in tram, are all ordinary ſilks; but they are uſeful, and even neceſſary for brocades, for embroidery, and for all works that require ſtrong ſilk.

THE other Italian ſilks, thoſe of Novi, Venice, Tuſcany, Milan, Montferrat, Bergamo, and Piedmont, are uſed in organzin for the warp, though they are not all equally fine and good. The Bologna ſilks were long preferred to any other. Since thoſe of Piedmont have been improved, they juſtly claim the preference, as being the evenmoſt, the fineſt, and the lighteſt. Thoſe of Bergamo come neareſt to them.

THOUGH the Spaniſh ſilks in general are very fine, thoſe of Valencia are by far the beſt. They are all fit for any kind of work; the only fault they have, is being rather too oily, which is a great detriment to the dye.

THE French ſilks excel moſt others in Europe, and are inferior to none but thoſe of Piedmont and Bergamo in point of lightneſs. In other reſpects, they are brighter coloured than thoſe of Piedmont; and more even

and

and ſtronger than thoſe of Bergamo. Some years ago, France produced ſix thouſand quintals of ſilk, which ſold from fifteen to twenty one livres[t] a pound of fourteen ounces. At the average of eighteen livres, it produced an income of ten millions[u]. When the new plantations have made the progreſs that is expected from them, France will be eaſed of the annual outgoings for this article, which are ſtill conſiderable.

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The variety of ſilks produced in Europe, has not yet enabled us to do without the Chineſe. Though in general it is uneven and heavy, it will always be in requeſt for its whiteneſs. It is generally thought to derive this advantage from nature; but it is more natural to ſuppoſe that when they draw the ſilk, the Chineſe put ſome ingredient into the baſon, that has the property of expelling all heterogeneous ſubſtances, or at leaſt the coarſeſt parts. The little waſte there is in this ſilk, compared to any other, when it is boiled for dying, ſeems to give great weight to this conjecture.

However this be, the Chineſe ſilk is ſo inimitably white, that no other will do for blondes and gauzes. All our endeavours to ſubſtitute our own in the blonde manufactures have been fruitleſs, whether we have made uſe of prepared or unprepared ſilk. The trials upon gauze have not been quite ſo unſucceſsful. The whiteſt French and Italian ſilks have been tried, and ſeemed to anſwer pretty well, but neither the colour nor the dreſſing were ſo perfect as with the Chineſe ſilk.

In the laſt century, the Europeans drew very little ſilk from China. Our own ſucceeded very well for black and coloured gauze, and for cat-gut that was then in faſhion. The taſte that has prevailed for theſe forty years, and eſpecially the laſt twenty-five, for white gauzes and

[t] From about 13s. to about 18s. 6d.

[u] 1,250,000l. to 1,437,500l.

blondes,

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blondes, has gradually increaſed the conſumption of that eaſtern commodity. In latter times it has amounted to eighty thouſand weight a year, of which France has always taken near three fourths. This importation has increaſed to ſuch a degree, that in 1766, the Engliſh alone imported a hundred and four thouſand weight: as it could not be all conſumed in gauze and blonde, the manufacturers have uſed it for tabbies and hoſiery. The ſtockings made of this ſilk, are of a beautiful white that never changes, but are not near ſo fine as others.

BESIDES this ſilk, ſo remarkable for its whiteneſs, which comes chiefly from the province of Tche-Kiang, and is known in Europe by the name of Nankeen ſilk, which is the place where moſt of it is prepared, China produces ordinary ſilks, which we call Canton. As theſe are only fit for ſome kinds of tram, and are as dear as our own, which anſwers the ſame purpoſe, very few are imported. What the Engliſh and Dutch bring home, does not exceed five or ſix thouſand. The manufactured ſilks are a much more conſiderable article.

THE Chineſe are not leſs ingenious in weaving their ſilks than in preparing them. This does not extend to thoſe that are mixed with gold and ſilver. Their artiſts have never known how to draw or ſpin theſe metals, and their ingenuity goes no further than rolling up their ſilks in gilt paper, or putting them upon the paper after they are wove. Both methods are equally bad.

THOUGH in general, men are more apt to be taken with glitter than with true excellence, we have never been tempted to buy theſe ſtuffs. We have been equally diſguſted at the aukwardneſs of their patterns. They exhibit nothing but diſtorted figures, and unmeaning groups; they diſcover not any idea in the diſpoſition of the lights and ſhades, nor any of that elegance and eaſe that appear in the

the works of our good artists. There is a stiffness and a want of freedom in all they do, that is displeasing to persons of any taste; all savours of their particular turn of mind, which is destitute of vivacity and elevation.

The only thing that makes us bear with those faults, in all such of their works as represent flowers, birds or trees, is that none of those objects are raised. The figures are painted upon the silk itself with indelible colours; and yet the deception is so compleat, that all these objects appear to be brocaded or embroidered.

As for their plain silks, they want no recommendation, for they are perfect in their kind, and so are their colours, especially the green and the red. The white of their damasks has something extremely pleasing. The Chinese use for them none but the silk of Tche-Kiang. They thoroughly boil the warp, as we do, but only half boil the woof. This method gives the damask more substance and stiffness. It has a reddish cast, without being yellow, which looks delightfully, and has not that glare that dazzles the sight. This pleasing white is likewise observeable in the Chinese varnish.

The Europeans buy varnished works, and paper, in China.

Varnish is a kind of liquid gum, of a reddish colour. That of Japan is preferable to that of Tonquin and Siam, and these are much better than that of Cambodia. The Chinese buy it at all these markets, because what several of their own provinces afford, is not sufficient for their consumption. The tree that yields this gum, is called Tsi-chu, and resembles the ash, both in the bark and the leaf. It never grows above fifteen feet, and the stem commonly measures two feet and a half. It bears neither flowers nor fruit, but is propagated in the following manner.

In the spring, when the sap of the Tsi-chu begins to shew itself, they chuse the strongest shoot that grows out of the stem, and daub it all over with yellow earth; then wrap it round with a mat, to protect it from the impres-

impreſſion of the air. If it ſtrikes root quickly, they cut it off, and plant it in autumn; but if it proves backward, they put it off to another opportunity. At whatever ſeaſon it is done, the young plant muſt be preſerved from the ants, which is done by filling the hole with aſhes.

THE Tſi-chu yields no varniſh till it is ſeven or eight years old, and then it comes in ſummer. It diſtils from inciſions made at different diſtances in the bark, and runs into a ſhell that is fixed at each inciſion. They reckon it a good crop, when they get twenty pounds of varniſh in one night out of a thouſand trees. This gum is ſo prejudicial, that thoſe who work with it are obliged to uſe conſtant precautions to guard againſt its malignancy. The workmen rub their hands and faces with rape oil before they begin, and after they have done their work, and wear a maſk, gloves, boots, and a breaſt plate.

THERE are two ways of uſing the varniſh. The firſt is to rub the wood with a particular ſort of oil they have in China; and as ſoon as it is dry, they lay on the varniſh. It is ſo tranſparent that the veins of the wood are ſeen through it, if it is laid on but two or three times. If it is repeatedly laid on, it may be brought to ſhine like a looking glaſs. The other way is more complicated. By means of maſtick, they glue a kind of paſteboard over the wood. On this ſmooth and ſolid ground, they ſpread ſeveral layers of varniſh. It muſt be neither too thick nor too liquid; and in this juſt medium the ſkill of the artiſt principally conſiſts.

WHICH ever way the varniſh is laid on, it effectually preſerves the wood from decaying. The worm can hardly get at it, and the damp not at all; and with a little care, no ſmell will remain in it.

THIS varniſh is as pleaſant, as it is ſolid. It will take gold and ſilver, and all the different colours. Upon it are painted figures, landſcapes, palaces, hunting parties,

ties, and battles; in ſhort, nothing would be wanting, if it was not generally ſpoiled by the badneſs of the Chineſe drawings.

VARNISHING requires much pains and conſtant attention. The varniſh muſt be laid on nine or ten times at leaſt, and cannot be ſpread too thin. There muſt be a ſufficient interval between the layers, that they may have time to dry. A longer time ſtill muſt be allowed between the laſt layer and the poliſhing, painting and gilding. A whole ſummer is hardly ſufficient for all this proceſs at Nanking, whoſe manufactures ſupply the court, and the chief cities of the empire. It goes on quicker at Canton. As there is a great demand of theſe works for Europe, and as the Europeans will have them made their own way, and allow but a ſhort time to complete them, they are hurried over. As the artiſt has not time to make them good, all his ambition is to make them pleaſing to the eye. Paper is not liable to the ſame imperfections.

ORIGINALLY, the Chineſe wrote with a ſteel bodkin upon wooden tablets, which being tacked together, made a volume. They afterwards traced their characters upon pieces of ſilk or linen, cut as long and as broad as they choſe them. At laſt they found out the ſecret of making paper about ſixteen hundred years ago.

IT is generally thought that this paper is made with ſilk; but whoever is acquainted with the practical part of the art muſt know, that ſilk can never be ſo divided as to work it into a uniform paſte. The good Chineſe paper is made with cotton, and would be equal, if not preferable, to ours, if it was as durable.

THE ordinary paper, which is not intended for writing, is made of the firſt or ſecond bark of the mulberry tree, the elm, the cotton tree, and chiefly of the bamboo. Theſe ſubſtances, after rotting in muddy wa-

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ter, are buried in lime; then bleached in the ſun, and boiled in coppers to a fluid paſte, which is ſpread upon hurdles, and hardens into ſheets, that meaſure ten or twelve feet, or more. This is the paper that the Chineſe uſe for furniture. It has a very pleaſing effect by its brilliancy, and by the variety of forms into which their ingenuity has found means to turn it.

THOUGH this paper is apt to crack, to take the damp, and to be worm eaten, it is become an article of trade. Europe has borrowed from Aſia, the notion of furniſhing cloſets and making ſcreens with it; but that taſte begins to wear off. We already diſcard the Chineſe for the uſe of the Engliſh paper, and ſhall certainly keep to that, when it has attained a higher degree of perfection. The French begin to imitate this novelty, and probably all nations will adopt it.

BESIDES the articles already mentioned, the Europeans bring from China, ink, camphor, borax, rhubarb, gum lac, and rattans, a kind of cane that ſerves to make arm chairs; and formerly they brought gold.

IN Europe a mark of gold is worth about fourteen marks and a half of ſilver. If there was a country where it was worth twenty, our merchants would carry gold thither, to change it for ſilver. They would bring us back that ſilver, to change it with us for gold, which they would again carry abroad for the ſame purpoſe. They would go on ſo till the relative value of the two metals came to be much the ſame in both countries. It was upon this principle, that we continued for a great while to ſend ſilver to China to barter it for gold. We got 45 per cent. by this traffic. It was never carried on by the charter companies; becauſe the profit they made upon the markets was ſo much greater than this, as great as it may appear, that they never thought it worth their while to be concerned in it. Their agents, who had not their choice, attended

to

to these speculations for their own profit. They pursued them with such eagerness, that in a short time the traffic did not bring in enough to be worth continuing. Gold is dearer or cheaper at Canton, according to the season of the year; it is much cheaper from the beginning of February to the end of May, than the rest of the year, when the road is full of foreign ships. Yet in the most favourable season, no more than eighteen per cent. is to be got, which is not enough to tempt any body. The only agents who have not been sufferers by the cessation of this trade, are those of the French company, who were never allowed to be concerned in it. The directors reserved that profit for themselves alone. Many attempted it; but Castanier was the only one who acted as a capital trader. He sent goods to Mexico; these were sold for piastres, which were carried to Acapulco, then to the Philippines, and from thence to China, where they were bartered for gold. That able man, by this judicious circulation, had opened a track, which it is surprising nobody else has since pursued.

All the European nations, who pass the cape of Good Hope go to China. The Portuguese first landed there. The Chinese gave them the town of Macao, which was built upon a barren and rugged spot, on the point of a little island, at the mouth of the river of Canton, and with it, a territory of about three miles in circumference. They obtained the disposal of the road, which is too narrow, but safe and commodious, engaging themselves to pay to the empire all the duties to be levied on the ships that should come in; and they purchased the freedom of erecting fortifications, by engaging to pay a yearly tribute of 37,500 livres [x]. As long as the court of Lisbon maintained the sovereignty of the Indian seas, this place was a famous mart. It decayed

[x] 1640l. 12s. 6d.

in

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in proportion to the power of the Portugueſe, and gradually came to nothing. Macao has no farther connection with the mother country, and has no navigation but the fitting out of three ſmall veſſels, one for Timor, and two for Goa. Till 1744, the poor remains of that once flouriſhing colony ſtill enjoyed ſome kind of independence. The murder of a Chineſe, determined the viceroy of Canton to apply to his court for a magiſtrate to inſtruct and govern the barbarians of Macao; theſe were the very words of his petition. The court ſent a Mandarine, who took poſſeſſion of the town in the name of his maſter. He ſcorned to live among foreigners, who are always held in great contempt, and fixed his reſidence at the diſtance of a league from the town.

THE Dutch met with ſtill worſe treatment about a century ago. Thoſe republicans, who notwithſtanding the aſcendent they had taken over the Aſiatic ſeas, had been excluded from China by the intrigues of the Portugueſe, at laſt got acceſs to their ports. Not content with the precarious footing they had got there, they attempted to erect a fort near Hoaung-pon, under pretence of building a warehouſe. It is ſaid their ſcheme was, to make themſelves maſters of the navigation of the Tigris, and to lord it alike over the Chineſe and foreigners who wanted to trade to Canton. The former ſaw through their project ſooner than was conſiſtent with their intereſt. They were all maſſacred, and it was a great while before that nation durſt appear upon the coaſts of China. They were ſeen there again about the year 1730. The firſt ſhips that landed there, came from Java. They brought various commodities of the growth of India in general, and of their own colonies in particular, and bartered them for thoſe of the country. The managers, wholly intent upon pleaſing the council of Batavia, from whom they immediately received their orders, and from whom they expected their promotion;

motion, thought of nothing but disposing of the goods to the best advantage, and were very careless of what they took in return. The company soon found that at this rate, their sales could never stand in competition with those of their rivals. This consideration determined them to send ships directly from Europe with money. They touch at Batavia, where they take in such commodities of the country as are fit for China, and return directly into our latitudes, with much better ladings than formerly, but not so good as those of the English.

Of all the nations that have traded to China, the Dutch have been the most constant. They had a factory in the island of Chusan, at the time when business was chiefly transacted at Emony. When it was removed to Canton, this factory still continued as before. As their company were required to export woollen drapery, they determined to keep agents constantly at this place to dispose of it. This practice, joined to the demand for tea in the English settlements, threw almost all the trade between China and Europe into their hands, towards the end of the last century. The heavy duties this government laid on that foreign consumption, at last opened the eyes of other nations, and of France in particular.

That monarchy had formed a particular company for that trade in 1660. A rich merchant of Rouen, named Formanel, was at the head of the undertaking. He had computed that it could not well be carried on under a capital of 220,000 livres [y], and the subscriptions amounted only to 140,000 [z], which occasioned the ill success of the voyage. The losses they sustained, indisposed them more than ever against a nation that was shy of foreigners, and imagined they came to corrupt their morals, and encroach upon their liberty. In vain

[y] 9,625l. [z] 6,125l.

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did the Chinese alter their opinion, and consequently their behaviour, towards the year 1685. The French seldom frequent their ports. The new society formed in 1698, was not more active than the former, and they did not succeed in this trade, till it came to be united with that of the Indies, and in the same proportion.

THE Danes and the Swedes began to frequent the ports of China about the same time, and have acted upon the same principle. The Embden company would probably have adopted it likewise, if it had subsisted long enough.

Sums laid out in purchases by the Europeans, in China.

THE annual purchases the Europeans make in China, if we compute them by those of the year 1766, amount to 26,754,494 livres [a]; this sum, above four fifths of which is laid out on the single article of tea, has been paid in piastres or in goods, brought by twenty-three ships. Sweden has furnished 1,935,168 livres [b] in money, and 427,500 [c] in pewter, lead, and other commodities. Denmark, 2,161,630 livres [d] in money, and 231,000 [e] in iron, lead and gun-flints. France, 4,000,000 [f] in money, and 4000,000 [g] in drapery goods. Holland, 2,735,400 [h] in money, and 44,600 [i] in woollen goods, besides 4,000,150 [k] in the produce of her colonies. Great Britain, 5,443,566 livres [l] in money, 2,500,475 [m] in woollen drapery, and 3,375,000 [n] in various articles brought from different parts of the Indies. All these sums together, make a sum total of 26,754,494 livres [o]. We do not include in this calculation ten millions [p] in specie which the English have carried over and above what we have mentioned, because they were destined to pay of

[a] About 1,170,500 l. [b] 84,663 l. 12 s. [c] 18,703 l. 2 s. 6 d.
[d] 94,571 l. 6 s. 3 d. [e] 10,106 l. 5 s. [f] 175,000 l.
[g] 175,000 l. [h] 119,673 l. 15 s. [i] 1951 l. 5 s.
[k] 175,006 l. 11 s. 3 d. [l] About 238,000 l. [m] Above 87,500 l.
[n] Above 147,600 l. [o] About 1,170,500 l. [p] 437,500 l.

the debts that nation had contracted, or to lay in a stock to trade upon in the intervals between the voyages.

Conjectures concerning the future state of the trade of Europe in China.

It is not eaſy to conjecture what will become of this trade. Though the Chineſe are ſo fond of money, they ſeem more inclined to ſhut their ports againſt the Europeans, than to encourage them to enlarge their trade. As the ſpirit of the Tartars has ſubſided, and the conquerors have imbibed the maxims of the vanquiſhed nation, they have adopted their prejudices, and in particular their averſion from, and contempt of foreigners. They have diſcovered theſe diſpoſitions, by the humiliating hardſhips they have impoſed upon them, after having treated them with ſo much reſpect. The tranſition is but ſhort from this precarious ſituation to a total expulſion. It may not be far off; and this is the more likely, as there is an active nation who very poſſibly is ſecretly contriving to bring it about.

The Dutch are not ignorant that all Europe is grown very fond of ſeveral Chineſe productions. They muſt ſuppoſe that the impoſſibility of procuring them from the firſt hand would not hinder the conſumption. If we were all excluded from China, the natives would export their own commodities. As their ſhipping is not fit for a long navigation, they would be under the neceſſity of carrying them to Java or to the Philippines, and then we muſt buy them of one of the two nations to whom thoſe colonies belong. The competition of the Spaniards is ſo inſignificant, that the Dutch might be very ſure of engroſſing the whole trade. It is dreadful to ſuſpect thoſe republicans of any thing ſo baſe, but it is well known they have been guilty of greater villanies for ſmaller intereſts.

If the ports of China were once ſhut, it is probable they would be ſo for ever. The obſtinacy of that nation would never ſuffer them to retract, and there is no appearance that they could be compelled to it. What could

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be done againſt a nation at the diſtance of eight thouſand leagues? No government is ſo deſtitute of common ſenſe as to imagine that our men, after the fatigues of ſo long a voyage, would venture to attempt conqueſts in a country defended by an innumerable people, though we ſhould ſuppoſe them ever ſo cowardly, as they have never yet tried their ſtrength againſt the Europeans. All the miſchief we could do them, would be the intercepting of their navigation, which is the leaſt of their concerns, and neither affects their ſubſiſtence nor their conveniencies.

THIS fruitleſs revenge would even be practicable but for a very little while. The ſhips employed in this piratical cruiſe, would be driven from thoſe latitudes one part of the year by the monſoons, and the other part by the ſtorms they call typhons, which are peculiar to the ſeas of China.

HAVING thus explained the manner in which the Europeans have hitherto carried on the Eaſt India trade, it will not be improper to examine three queſtions which naturally ariſe upon the ſubject, and have not yet been decided. 1. Whether it is adviſeable to continue that trade. 2. Whether great ſettlements are neceſſary to carry it on with ſucceſs. 3. Whether it ought to be left in the hands of charter companies. We ſhall diſcuſs theſe points with the impartiality of a man, who has no other concern in the cauſe, but the intereſt of mankind.

Whether Europe ſhould continue its trade with India.

WHOEVER conſiders Europe as making but one body, whoſe members are united in one common intereſt, or at leaſt in the ſame kind of intereſt, will not heſitate to pronounce whether her connections with Aſia are advantageous or not. The India trade evidently enlarges the circle of our enjoyments. It procures us wholeſome and agreeable liquors, conveniences of a more refined nature, more ſplendid furniture, ſome new pleaſures, and a more comfortable exiſtence. Such powerful incentives have

had the ſame influence upon thoſe nations, who, from their ſituation, their activity, their good fortune in making diſcoveries, and the boldneſs of their enterprizes, are able to fetch theſe delights from their very ſource; as upon thoſe who are unable to procure them, but through the channel of the maritime ſtates, whoſe navigation diſperſes their ſuperfluities all over the continent. So ſtrong has been the paſſion of the Europeans for theſe foreign luxuries, that neither the higheſt duties, nor the ſtricteſt prohibitions, nor the ſevereſt penalties, have been able to check it. Every government, after having in vain tried to controul this inclination, which only grew ſtronger by oppoſition, has been forced at laſt to yield to it, though their prejudices, which were ſtrengthened by time and cuſtom, made them conſider this compliance as detrimental to the ſtability, and to the general welfare of nations. BOOK V.

But the time was come, when it became neceſſary to put an end to this tyranny. Can it be a matter of doubt, whether it is beneficial to add the enjoyments of foreign climates to thoſe of our own? Univerſal ſociety exiſts as well for the common intereſt of the whole, as by the mutual intereſt of all the individuals that compoſe it. An increaſe of felicity muſt, therefore, reſult from a general intercourſe. Commerce is the exerciſe of that valuable liberty to which nature has called all men, which is the ſource of their happineſs, and indeed of their virtues. Men are never ſo truly free as in trade; nor is any thing ſo conducive to freedom as commercial laws: and one particular advantage derived from it is, that as trade produces liberty, ſo it contributes to preſerve it.

We muſt be but little acquainted with man, if we imagine that in order to make him happy, he muſt be debarred from enjoyments. We grant that the being accuſtomed to want the conveniencies of life, leſſens the ſum of our misfortunes; but by retrenching more on

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our pleaſures than on our ſorrows, we are rather brought to a ſtate of inſenſibility than of happineſs. If nature has given man a heart too ſuſceptible of tender impreſſions; if his imagination is ever employed in ſearch of objects to gratify his reſtleſs and involuntary deſires; he ſhould be left at full liberty to purſue the wide circle of enjoyments. Let reaſon teach him to be ſatisfied with ſuch things as he can enjoy, and not to grieve for thoſe that are out of his reach; this is true wiſdom. But to require that reaſon ſhould make us voluntarily reject, what it is in our power to add to our preſent enjoyments, is to contradict nature, and to ſubvert the firſt principles of ſociability.

How ſhall we perſuade man to be content with the ſcanty pittance that moraliſts think proper to allow him? How ſhall we aſcertain the limits of what is neceſſary, which varies according to his ſituation in life, his attainments, and his deſires? No ſooner had his induſtry made the means of procuring a ſubſiſtence more eaſy, but he ſpent his time in extending the limits of his faculties, and the circle of his enjoyments. Thence ſprang all his factitious wants. The diſcovery of a new ſpecies of ſenſations excited a deſire of preſerving them, and a propenſity to find out others. The perfection of one art, introduced the knowledge of ſeveral others. The ſucceſs of a war, occaſioned by hunger or revenge, ſuggeſted the notion of conqueſt. Navigation put men under a neceſſity of deſtroying one another, or of uniting together. It was the ſame with commercial treaties between nations parted by the ſeas, as with ſocial compacts between men ſcattered upon the ſame earth. All thoſe connections began by combat, and ended by aſſociations. War and navigation have intermingled ſocieties and colonies. Hence men came to be bound together by dependence or intercourſe. The refuſe of all nations mixing together during the outrages of war, are refined and

and polished by commerce. The intent of commerce is, that all nations should consider themselves as one great society, whose members have all an equal right to partake of the conveniencies of the rest. The object and the means of commerce equally suppose a desire and a freedom, agreed upon by all nations, to make all exchanges that may be suitable to both. The desire and the liberty of enjoyment, are the only two springs of industry, and the only two principles of sociability among men. BOOK V.

Those who blame the trade of Europe with India have only the following reasons to alledge against a universal and free intercourse: that it is attended with a considerable loss of men; that it checks the progress of our industry; and that it lessens our stock of money. These objections are easily obviated.

As long as every man shall be free to chuse a profession, and to make what use he pleases of his faculties, we need not be anxious about his fate. As in a state of freedom, every thing has its proper value, no man will expose himself to any danger, without expecting a proportionable equivalent. In a well regulated society, every individual is at liberty to do what best suits his inclination and his interest, provided it is not inconsistent with the properties and liberties of others. A law that should prohibit every trade in which a man might endanger his life, would condemn a great part of mankind to starve, and would deprive society of numberless comforts. We need not pass the Line to carry on a dangerous trade; and without going out of Europe, we may find many professions that are far more destructive to the human race, than the navigation to India. If the dangers of the sea carry off some of our men, let us give due encouragement to the culture of our lands, and our population will be so much increased, that we shall be better able to spare those self-devoted victims that are

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ſwallowed up by the ſea. To this we may add, that moſt of thoſe who periſh in long voyages, are loſt by accidental cauſes, which might eaſily be prevented by wholeſomer diet, and a more regular life. But if men will add to the vices of their own climate and manners, the deſtructive ones of the climates where they land, it is no wonder if they cannot reſiſt theſe united principles of deſtruction.

EVEN ſuppoſing that the India trade ſhould coſt Europe as many men as it is ſaid to do, are we very ſure that this loſs is not made up by the labours to which it gives riſe, and which cheriſh and increaſe our population? The men who go abroad, certainly leave their places vacant upon land, to be filled up by others yet unborn. Whoever caſts an attentive eye on the multitude of inhabitants that cover the confined territory of maritime nations, will be convinced that it is not the navigation to Aſia, nor even navigation in general, that is detrimental to population, and that on the contrary, it alone may, perhaps, be ſaid to balance all the cauſes of decay of the human race. Let us now endeavour to invalidate the opinion of thoſe, who apprehend the India trade interferes with our induſtry at home.

ADMITTING it true that it had put a ſtop to ſome of our labours, it has given riſe to many more. It has introduced into our colonies the culture of ſugar, coffee, and indigo. Many of our manufactures are kept up by India ſilk and cotton. If Saxony and other countries in Europe make very fine china; if Valencia weaves Pekins, ſuperior to thoſe of China; if Switzerland imitates the muſlins and worked callicoes of Bengal; if England and France print linens with great elegance; if ſo many ſtuffs, formerly unknown in our climates, now employ our beſt artiſts, are we not indebted to India for all theſe advantages?

LET

Let us proceed further, and put the case that we are not beholden to Asia for any of our improvements, the consumption we make of their commodities cannot be prejudicial to our industry; for we pay for them with the produce of our own manufactures exported to America. I sell a hundred livres [q] worth of linen to a Spaniard, and send that money to the East Indies. Another sends the same quantity of the linen itself. We both bring home tea. In the main we are both doing the same thing; we are changing a hundred livres [r] worth of linen into tea: the only difference is, that the one does it by a double, and the other by a single process. Suppose the Spaniard, instead of giving me money, had given me goods that were saleable in India, I should not have injured our artificers by carrying them thither. Is it not the very same as if I had carried our own produce thither? I sail from Europe with national manufactures; I go to the South Sea, and exchange them for piastres; I carry those piastres to the Indies; I bring home things that are either useful or pleasing. Have I confined the industry of my country? Far from it; I have extended the consumption of its produce, and multiplied the enjoyments of my countrymen. But what misleads the opposers of the India trade is, that the piastres are brought over to Europe before they are carried to Asia. The last point to be considered is, that whether the money is or is not employed as the intermediate mark of exchange, I have either directly or indirectly made an exchange with Asia, and bartered goods for goods, my industry for their industry, my produce for their produce.

But, it is objected by some discontented men, that India has at all times swallowed up all the treasures of the universe. Ever since chance has taught men the use of

[q] About 4l. 7s. 6d. [r] About 4l. 7s. 6d.

metals,

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metals, say these censurers, they have never ceased to search for them. Pale and restless avarice has taken her stand among the barren rocks, where nature had wisely concealed those insidious treasures. Since they were digged out of the bowels of the earth, they have constantly been spreading over its surface, from whence, notwithstanding the extreme opulence of the Romans, and of some other nations, they have disappeared from Europe, Africa, and some parts of Asia. India hath swept them all away. Money still goes the same way; it flows incessantly from west to east, and there it fixes, and never finds its way back again. It is for India then, that the mines of Peru have been opened, and it is for its inhabitants that the Europeans have been guilty of so many crimes in America. Whilst the Spaniards are draining the blood of their slaves in Mexico to dig silver out of the bowels of the earth, the Banians take still more pains to bury it again. If ever the wealth of Potosi should be exhausted, we must go and look for it on the coast of Malabar where we have sent it. When we have drained India of pearls and perfumes, we shall, perhaps, go sword in hand, and recover the money it hath cost us. So shall our cruelties and caprices remove the gold and silver into other climes, where avarice and superstition will again bury them under ground.

These complaints are not altogether groundless. Ever since the other parts of the world have opened a communication with India, they have constantly exchanged gold and silver for arts and commodities. Nature has lavished upon the Indians the little they want; their climate will not admit of our luxuries, and their religion gives them an abhorrence from some things that we feed upon. As their customs, manners and government have continued the same in the midst of the revolutions that have overturned their country, we must not expect they should ever alter. India ever was, and ever will

will be what it now is. As long as any trade is carried on there, money will be brought in, and goods sent out. But before we exclaim against the abuse of this trade, we should follow its gradual progress, and see what is the result.

FIRST, it is certain our gold does not go to India. They have gold of their own; besides a constant supply from Monomotapa, which comes by the eastern coast of Africa and by the Red Sea; from the Turks, which is brought by way of Arabia and Bassora; and from Persia, which comes both by the ocean and the continent. This enormous mass is never increased by the gold we fetch from the Spanish and Portuguese colonies. In short, we are so far from carrying gold to Asia, that for a long while we carried silver to China to barter it against gold.

EVEN the silver they get from us is by no means so considerable as may be imagined, from the immense quantity of India goods we bring home. Their annual sale has of late years amounted to a hundred and fifty millions [s]. Supposing they had cost but half of what they sold for, seventy-five millions [t] must have been sent to India to purchase them, besides what must have been sent over for our settlements. We shall not scruple to affirm, that for some time past, all Europe put together has not carried thither more than twenty-four millions [u] a year. Eight millions [w] are sent from France, six millions [x] from Holland, three millions [y] from England, three millions [z] from Denmark, two millions [a] from Sweden, and two millions [b] from Portugal.

THIS calculation will not appear improbable if we consider, that though in general India is in no

[s] 6,562,500l. [t] 3,281,250l. [u] 1,050,000l.
[w] 350,000l. [x] 262,500l. [y] 131,250l.
[z] 131,250l. [a] 87,500l. [b] 87,500l.

want

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want either of our produce or of our manufactures, yet they receive it from us, in iron, lead, copper woollen goods, and other leſſer articles, to the full amount of one fifth of the commodities we buy there.

THIS method of payment receives an acceſſion from the produce of the European ſettlements in Aſia. The moſt conſiderable by far are thoſe of the ſpice iſlands for the Dutch, and of Bengal for the Engliſh.

THE fortunes made by the free traders and agents in India, muſt likewiſe be deducted from the exportation of our money. Thoſe induſtrious men depoſit their ſtock in the coffers of their own, or ſome other nation, to be repaid them in Europe, whither they all return ſooner or later. So that a part of the India trade is carried on with money got in the country.

SOME events happen too from time to time, that bring the treaſures of the eaſt into our hands. It is undeniable that by the revolutions in the Decan and Bengal, and by diſpoſing of thrones at pleaſure, the French and the Engliſh have got poſſeſſion of the wealth accumulated for ſo many ages. It is evident that thoſe ſums, joined to others leſs conſiderable, muſt have kept a great deal of money at home, which muſt otherwiſe have gone to Aſia.

THAT rich part of the world has even reſtored to us ſome of the treaſure we had poured into it. Every body has heard of Kouli-kan's expedition to India, but it is not generally known that he brought away upwards of 2,000,000,000 [c] in ſpecie, or in valuable effects. The emperor's palace alone, contained ineſtimable and innumerable treaſures. The preſence chamber was lined with plate gold; the ceiling glittered with diamonds. Twelve pillars of maſſy gold, adorned with pearls and precious ſtones, made three ſides of the throne; the canopy repreſented a peacock, with his wings extended to overſhadow the monarch. The diamonds, rubies, emeralds,

[c] 87,500,000l.

ralds, and all the ſparkling gems that compoſed that curious piece of workmanſhip, perfectly imitated the colours of that beautiful bird. No doubt part of that wealth is gone back to India. Much of the treaſure brought to Perſia at the conqueſt of the Mogul, muſt have been buried under ground during the ſubſequent wars; but the ſeveral branches of commerce muſt certainly have brought ſome to Europe through ſuch well-known channels, that it is needleſs to ſpecify them.

ADMITTING that none of theſe riches have reached us, the cauſe of thoſe who condemn the trade of India, becauſe it is carried on with coin, will be no gainer by it, which is eaſily proved. Money is not produced in our fields; it is the produce of America, which is ſent us in exchange for our own. If Europe did not ſend it to Aſia, America would ſoon be unable to ſend any more to Europe. The too great plenty of it on our continent would ſo reduce its value, that the nations who bring it to us, could no longer get it from their colonies. When once an ell of linen cloth, which is now worth twenty ſols [d], riſes to a piſtole [e], the Spaniards cannot buy it of us, to carry it to the country where ſilver grows. It coſts them money to work the mines. When this expence ſhall have increaſed to ten times that ſum, and the price of ſilver is ſtill the ſame, the buſineſs of working in the mines, will be more expenſive than profitable to the owners, who of courſe will drop it. No more gold and ſilver will come from the new world to the old, and the Americans will be forced to forſake their richeſt mines, as they have gradually done the poor ones. This event would have taken place before now, if they had not found a way of diſpoſing of about 3,000,000,000 [f] in Aſia, by the Cape of Good Hope, or by the Philippines. Therefore this profuſion of money poured into India, which ſo many prejudiced perſons have hi-

[d] 10d. ½. [e] 16s. 9d. [f] 131,250,000l.

therto

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therto considered as a ruinous exportation, has been beneficial both to Spain, by supporting the only manufacture she can boast of, and to other nations who without it could never have disposed of their produce, or of the fruits of their industry. Having thus justified the India trade, we shall next proceed to inquire whether it has been conducted by the principles of sound policy.

An inquiry whether it is necessary, that the Europeans should have large establishments in India, in order to carry on the trade.

All the nations in Europe who have doubled the Cape of Good Hope, have aimed at founding great empires in Asia. The Portuguese, who led the way to those wealthy regions, first set us the example of a boundless ambition. Not content with having made themselves masters of the islands in which the choicest productions were to be found, and erected fortresses wherever they were wanted to secure to themselves the navigation of the east, they also aspired to the authority of giving laws to the Malabar, which, being divided into several petty sovereignties, that were jealous of, or at enmity with each other, was forced to submit to the yoke.

The Spaniards did not at first shew more moderation; even before they had completed the conquest of the Philippines, which were to be the center of their power, they strove to extend their dominion further. If they have not since subdued the rest of that immense Archipelago, or filled all the adjacent countries with their enormities, we must look for the cause of their inaction in the treasures of America, which confined their pursuits, though they did not satisfy their desires.

The Dutch robbed the Portuguese of their best posts on the continent, and drove them out of the spice islands. They have kept those possessions, and some later acquisitions, only by establishing a form of government, less faulty than that of the nations on whose ruins they were rising.

The

THE French took such slow and irresolute steps, that it was long before they could form or execute any great projects. As soon as they found themselves sufficiently powerful, they availed themselves of the subversion of the Mogul authority, to usurp the dominion of Coromandel. By artful negociations, they conquered or obtained a more extensive territory than any European power had ever possessed in Indostan.

THE English more prudent did not attempt to aggrandize themselves till they had stripped the French of their acquisitions, and till no rival nation could contend with them. The certainty of having none but the natives to deal with, determined them to fall upon Bengal. It was the province of all India, which afforded most commodities fit for the markets of Asia and Europe, and was likely to consume most of their manufactures; and also, that which their flag could best protect, having the advantage of a great river. They have conquered, and they flatter themselves they shall long enjoy the fruits of their victory.

THEIR successes, and those of the French, have astonished all nations. It is easy to conceive how solitary and defenceless islands that have no connection with their neighbours, may have been subdued. But it is astonishing to the last degree, that five or six hundred Europeans should in our days have beaten innumerable armies of Gentiles and Mahometans, mostly skilled in the art of war. These strange scenes however ought not to appear surprising after what we had seen before.

THE Portuguese had scarcely begun to appear in the east, when a few ships and a few soldiers subverted whole kingdoms. A small number of factories they established, and of forts they erected, were sufficient to crush the powers of India. When they ceased to be oppressed by the first conquerors, they were so by those who expelled and succeeded them. The history of those delightful regions,

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gions, was no longer the history of the natives, but that of their tyrants. But what strange people must these have been, who never could learn wisdom in the school of adversity and experience; who tamely surrendered to their common enemy; who were continually defeated, and yet never knew how to repulse a few adventurers, thrown up as it were out of the sea, upon their coasts? They were so constantly the dupes and the victims of those who attacked them, that one would almost be tempted to think they were not of the same species. The causes of this unaccountable pusillanimity shall be the subject of our next inquiry, and we shall begin by despotism.

All nations must necessarily lose their virtue, their courage and their love of independence, in proportion as they depart from the original state of nature; and it is reasonable to believe that the southern nations of Asia having first collected into societies, must have been the earliest exposed to despotism. Such has been the progress of all associations from the beginning of the world. Another truth equally evident from history is, that all arbitrary power hastens its own destruction, and that revolutions will restore liberty sooner or later, as they are more or less rapid. Few countries, except the Indostan, but have some time or other recovered their rights, when once they had lost them. Tyrants have fallen a hundred times, but tyranny has always stood its ground.

Civil slavery has been the consequence of political slavery. The Indian is not master of his own life; he knows of no law that will protect it from the caprice of the tyrant, or the fury of his agents. He is not master of his own understanding, he is debarred from all studies that are beneficial to mankind, and only allowed such as tend to enslave him. He is not master of his own field; the lands and their produce belong to the sovereign, and it is well if the labourer can earn enough to subsist himself

ſelf and family. He is not maſter of his own induſtry: every artiſt who has had the misfortune to diſcover ſome abilities, is in danger of being doomed to ſerve the monarch, his lieutenants, or ſome rich man who has purchaſed a right to employ him as he pleaſes. He is not maſter of his own wealth: he buries his gold under ground, to ſecure it from the rapacious hand of power, and leaves it there at his death, fooliſhly imagining it will be of ſervice to him in the next world. No doubt this abſolute, arbitrary, and tyrannical authority, with which the Indian is encompaſſed on all ſides, muſt ſubdue his ſpirit, and render him incapable of thoſe generous ſacrifices that courage requires.

The climate of Indoſtan is another impediment to theſe magnanimous exertions. The ſloth it inſpires is an invincible obſtacle to great revolutions, and vigorous oppoſitions, ſo common in the northern regions. The body and the mind equally enervated, have only the virtues and vices of ſlavery. In the ſecond, or at furtheſt in the third generation, the Tartars, the Turks, the Perſians, and even the Europeans, contract the liſtleſneſs of the Indians. Theſe natural influences might certainly be conquered by religious or moral inſtitutions; but the ſuperſtitions of the country are ſtrangers to ſuch exalted views. They never promiſe future rewards to the generous patriot who falls in his country's cauſe. Whilſt they adviſe, and ſometimes command ſuicide, by the allurement of future delights, they ſtrictly forbid the ſhedding of blood.

This was a neceſſary conſequence of the doctrine of tranſmigration, which muſt inſpire its followers with conſtant and univerſal benevolence. They are in continual fear of hurting their neighbour, that is, all men and all animals. How can a man be a ſoldier when he can ſay, perhaps, the elephant or the horſe I am going to knock down may contain my father's ſoul; perhaps,

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the enemy I am going to ſlay was formerly the head of my family? Thus in the Indies, religion encourages cowardice, the offspring of deſpotiſm and of the climate: the manners of the people contribute ſtill more to increaſe it.

In every country, the paſſion of love is the ruling paſſion, but it is not purſued with the ſame eagerneſs in every climate. The northern nations indulge it with decency and moderation; whereas the ſouthern ones give a looſe to it with unbounded licentiouſneſs. The policy of princes has ſometimes turned this propenſity to the advantage of ſociety; but the lawgivers of the Indies ſeem to have had nothing in view but to increaſe the fatal influences of their ardent climate. The Moguls, the laſt conquerors of thoſe regions, have ſtill ſurpaſſed them. Love is to them but a ſhameful and deſtructive debauchery, conſecrated by religion, by the laws, and by government. The military conduct of the nations of Indoſtan, whether Pagans or Mohammedans, is anſwerable to their diſſolute manners. We ſhall mention ſome particulars, taken from the writings of an Engliſh officer, remarkable for his military exploits in thoſe parts.

The ſoldiers make up the ſmalleſt part of the Indian camps. Every trooper is attended by his wife, his children, and two ſervants, one to look after his horſe, and the other to forage. The train of the officers and generals is proportionable to their vanity, their fortune and their rank. The ſovereign himſelf, when he takes the field, more intent upon making a parade of his magnificence than upon the neceſſities of war, carries along with him his ſeraglio, his elephants, his court, and almoſt all the inhabitants of his capital. The neceſſity of providing for the wants, the fancies and the luxury of this ſtrange multitude, muſt naturally form a kind of town in the midſt of the army, full of magazines and unneceſſary articles.

articles. The motions of such an unweildy mass cannot but be very slow. There is great confusion in their marches, and in all their operations. However abstemious the Indians, and even the Moguls may be, there must often be a want of provisions, and famine brings on contagious distempers, and a dreadful mortality.

These distempers seldom carry off any but recruits. Though in general, the inhabitants of Indostan affect a great passion for military glory, they are not fond of the profession. They who have been so successful in battle as to obtain honourable titles, are excused from serving for some time; and there are few that do not avail themselves of this privilege. The retreat of these veterans reduces the army to a despicable assemblage of soldiers, levied in haste in the several provinces of the empire, who are utterly unacquainted with discipline.

The manner in which these troops live, is answerable to so faulty a constitution. At night they eat a very great quantity of rice, and after supper, they take some drugs that lay them fast asleep. Notwithstanding this bad habit, they place no guard about their camp to prevent their being surprised; nor can any thing prevail upon a soldier to rise early, for the execution of projects that require the greatest dispatch.

The birds of prey, with which they are always plentifully provided, regulate their operations. If they find them heavy or benumbed, it is a bad omen, and prevents their marching out to battle: if they are fierce and angry, they prepare for battle, whatever reasons they might have for delaying it. This superstition, together with the observance of lucky and unlucky days, decides the fate of the best concerted projects.

They observe no order in their marches. Every soldier goes on as he likes, and only follows the bulk of the corps he belongs to. He is frequently seen carry-

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ing his provisions upon his head, together with the utensils for dressing them; whilst his arms are carried by his wife, who is commonly followed by several children. If a foot soldier has any relations or business in the enemy's army, he will quietly go there, and return to join his colours without meeting with the least opposition.

THE action is no better conducted than the preparatives to it. The cavalry, in which consists the whole strength of an Indian army, as the infantry are held in great contempt, fight tolerably with the sword and spear, but can never stand the fire of cannon or musquet. They are afraid of losing their horses, which are mostly Arabian, Persian or Tartarian, and are their whole fortune. Those who belong to this corps are well respected and well paid, and are so fond of their horses, that sometimes they will go in mourning for them.

THE Indians dread the enemy's artillery, as much as they confide in their own, though they neither know how to bring it along, nor how to make use of it. Their great guns, which are called by pompous names, are mostly of a prodigious size, and rather prevent than assist the gaining of a victory.

THOSE who are ambitious of being distinguished intoxicate themselves with opium, imagining that it warms the blood, and qualifies them for heroic actions. In this state of intoxication, their dress and impotent rage, make them bear a greater resemblance to fanatical women than to resolute men.

THE prince who commands these despicable troops, always rides on an elephant richly caparisoned, where he is at once the general and the standard of the whole army, whose eyes are fixed upon him. If he flies, he is slain; the whole machine is destroyed; the several corps disperse, or go over to the enemy.

THIS

This deſcription, which we might have enlarged upon without exaggeration, confirms the probability of our ſucceſſes in Indoſtan. Many Europeans themſelves, judging of what might be done in the inland parts, by what has been done along the coaſts, imagine we might without raſhneſs undertake the conqueſt of the whole country. The circumſtance that makes them ſo confident is, that in places where no enemy could haraſs them in the rear, nor intercept the expected ſuccours, they have overcome timorous weavers and merchants, undiſciplined and cowardly armies; weak princes jealous of each other, and always at war with their neighbours, or their own ſubjects. They do not conſider, that if they were to penetrate into the interior parts, they would all periſh before they had got half way. They would be ſpent with the exceſſive heat of the climate, continual fatigue, numberleſs diſeaſes, want of proviſion, and a thouſand other cauſes of inevitable death, even though no troops ſhould haraſs them.

We will ſuppoſe, however, that ten thouſand European ſoldiers had actually overrun and ravaged India from one end to the other; what would be the conſequence? Would theſe forces be ſufficient to ſecure the conqueſt, to keep every nation, every province, every diſtrict in order; and if this number is not ſufficient, let it be calculated what number of troops would be neceſſary for this purpoſe.

Let us ſuppoſe that the government was firmly eſtabliſhed, this would ſcarcely add any advantage to the ſituation of the conquering party. The revenues of Indoſtan, will be ſpent in Indoſtan itſelf. The European power that has conceived this project of uſurpation, would have nothing left, but a large vacant and unpopulated ſpace, and the diſgrace of having purſued chimerical ideas.

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THIS, indeed, is now an useleſs queſtion, ſince the Europeans themſelves have made their ſucceſs in Indoſtan more difficult than ever. By aſſociating the natives to their mutual jealouſies, they have taught them the art of war, and trained them up to arms and diſcipline. This impolitic conduct has opened the eyes of the ſovereigns of thoſe countries, whoſe ambition has been excited to eſtabliſh regular troops. Their cavalry moves in better order; and their infantry, which was always conſidered in ſo deſpicable a light, has now acquired the firmneſs of our battalions. A numerous and well ordered artillery has defended their camps, and protected their attacks. The armies, better compoſed, and better paid, have been able to keep the field longer.

THIS change, which might have been foreſeen had we not been blinded by temporary intereſt, may in time become ſo conſiderable, as wholly to prevent our attempting any further conqueſts in Indoſtan, and poſſibly we may loſe thoſe we have already made. Whether this will be a misfortune or an advantage, is what we ſhall next take into conſideration.

WHEN the Europeans firſt began to trade in that wealthy region, they found it divided into a great many ſmall ſtates, ſome of which were governed by princes of their own nation, and ſome by Patan kings. Their mutual hatred was the occaſion of continual wars. Beſides the wars between province and province, there was a perpetual one between every ſovereign and his ſubjects. It was fomented by the tax-gatherers, who to ingratiate themſelves at court, always levied heavier taxes than had been laid on the people. Theſe barbarians aggravated this heavy burden by diſtreſſing and vexing the inhabitants. Their extortions were a means of keeping their places, in a country where he is always in the right who has moſt to give.

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From this anarchy and these violent proceedings, we judged that to settle a safe and permanent commerce, we must put it under the protection of arms; and we fortified our factories. In process of time, jealousy, which divides the Europeans nations in the Indies, as it does every where else, exposed them to more considerable expences. Each of these foreign nations thought it necessary to augment their forces, lest they should be overpowered by their rivals.

Our dominion, however, extended no further than our own fortresses. Goods were brought thither from the inland parts, peaceably enough, or at least without insuperable difficulties. Even after the conquests of Kouli-kan had plunged the north of Indostan into confusion, the coast of Coromandel enjoyed its former tranquility. But the death of Nizam Muluc, Souba of the Decan, kindled a flame which is not yet fully extinguished.

The disposal of those immense spoils, naturally belonged to the court of Dehly; but the weakness of that court emboldened the children of Nizam to dispute their father's treasure. To supplant each other, they had recourse alternately to arms, to treachery, to poison, and to assassinations. Most of the adventurers they engaged in their animosities and crimes, perished during these horrid transactions. The Marattas alone, a nation who sometimes took part with one, and sometimes with another, and often had troops in all parties, seemed to bid fair for reaping the benefit of this anarchy, and invading the sovereignty of the Decan. The Europeans have pretended it was greatly their interest to oppose this deep but secret design, and they alledge the following reasons in their defence.

The Marattas, say they, are thieves, both from education and from their political principles. They have no regard to the law of nations, no notion of natural or

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civil right, and carry desolation wherever they go. The most populous countries are turned into a desert, at the very report of their approach. In the countries they have subdued, nothing is to be seen but confusion, and all the manufactures are destroyed.

The Europeans, who were strongest on the coast of Coromandel, thought such neighbours would utterly ruin their trade, and they could never venture to send money by their couriers to buy goods in the inland countries, as they would certainly be robbed by this banditti. The desire of preventing this evil, which must ruin their fortunes, and rob them of the fruit of their settlements, suggested to their agents the idea of a new system.

They gave out that in the present situation of Indostan, it was impossible to keep up useful connections without the protection of an army, and a military establishment. That at so great a distance from the mother country, the expence could not possibly be defrayed out of the mere profits of trade, were they ever so great. That therefore it was absolutely necessary to procure sufficient possessions to answer those enormous calls, and consequently that the possessions must not be small ones.

This argument, probably contrived by insatiable greediness and boundless ambition, and which the too common passion for conquest found to be a very weighty one, may, perhaps, be a mere sophism. A variety of physical, natural, moral and political reasons may be urged in opposition to it. We shall only insist upon one, which is a matter of fact. From the Portuguese, who first attempted to aggrandize themselves in India, down to the English, who closed the fatal list of usurpers, not one acquisition, great or small, except Bengal and the spice islands, has ever paid the expence of taking and keeping it up. The larger the possessions, the more they have proved chargeable to the ambitious

power

power that had them, by whatever means they acquired them. BOOK V.

This will always be the caſe. Every nation that has obtained a large territory, will be deſirous of keeping it. They will think there is no ſafety but in fortified places, and will multiply them without end. That warlike appearance will frighten away the huſbandman and the artiſt, who will not expect to live peaceably. The neighbouring princes will grow jealous, and will juſtly be afraid of falling a prey to a merchant turned conqueror. In conſequence of this, they will be deviſing means to ruin an oppreſſor, whom they had admitted into their harbours, with no other view than to increaſe their own treaſures and power. If they enter into a treaty with him, they will ſign it, ſwearing in their hearts the deſtruction of their new ally. Falſhood will be the baſis of all their agreements; and the longer they have been forced to diſſemble, the more time they will have had to whet the dagger deſtined to ſtab their enemy.

The well-grounded fear of theſe perfidies will oblige the uſurpers to be always upon their guard, and to maintain a force ſufficient to repel their attempts. If they muſt be defended by Europeans, what a conſumption of men for the mother country! What an expence to raiſe them, to ſend them over, to maintain and to recruit them! If, from a principle of œconomy, they content themſelves with the Indian ſoldiery, what can be expected from a confuſed rabble, whoſe expeditions always degenerate into robbery, and habitually end in a ſhameful and precipitate flight. Their moral and natural ſentiments are ſo looſe, that even the defence of their gods and their own houſholds, could never inſpire the boldeſt among them with any thing beyond a few tranſient fits of intrepidity. It is not very likely that foreign intereſts, ruinous to their country, ſhould quicken their inactive and corrupt ſouls,

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ſouls, or raiſe any degree of ſpirit in their debaſed minds; is it not rather to be expected that they will be ever ready to betray an odious cauſe, in which they find no immediate and laſting advantage?

To theſe inconveniences will be added a ſpirit of extortion and plunder, which even in the times of the moſt profound peace, will fall little ſhort of the devaſtations of war. The agents intruſted with thoſe remote concerns, will be inclined to make rapid fortunes. The ſlow and regular profits of trade, they will think beneath their notice, and they will haſten revolutions that will lay lacks of roupees at their feet. Their audacioufneſs will have done infinite miſchief, before it can be controuled by authority, at the diſtance of ſix thouſand leagues. The reformers will have no power againſt millions, or they will come too late to prevent the fall of an edifice built on a ſandy foundation.

THIS reſult makes it needleſs to inquire into the nature of the political engagements the Europeans have entered into with the powers of India. If theſe great acquiſitions are hurtful, the treaties made to procure them cannot be rational. If merchants are wiſe, they will forego the rage of conqueſt, and the flattering hopes of holding the balance of Aſia.

THE court of Dehly will finally ſink under the weight of inteſtine diviſions, or fortune will raiſe up a prince capable of reſtoring it. The government will remain feudal, or once more become deſpotic. The empire will be divided into many independent ſtates, or it will obey but one maſter. Either the Marattas or the Moguls will become a ruling power; but the Europeans have nothing to do with theſe revolutions; whatever be the fate of Indoſtan, the Indians will go on weaving and printing, and we ſhall go on buying their callicoes; the reſt is a point we are not concerned in.

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It would be in vain to alledge, that the ſpirit which has always prevailed in thoſe parts has forced us to depart from the common rules of trade; that we are in arms upon the coaſts; that our ſituation unavoidably obliges us to interfere with the affairs of our neighbours; and that if we keep too much to ourſelves, it is the ready way to be undone. Theſe fears will appear groundleſs to ſenſible people, who know that a war in thoſe diſtant regions muſt be ſtill more fatal to the Europeans than to the natives, and that the conſequence will be, that we muſt either ſubdue the whole, which is ſcarce poſſible, or be for ever expelled from a country where it is our advantage to keep up our connections.

The love of order would even make it deſireable to extend theſe pacific views, and far from thinking that great poſſeſſions are neceſſary, we do not deſpair of being able, in time, to do without fortified poſts. The Indians are naturally gentle and humane, though cruſhed under the ſevere burden of deſpotiſm. The nations who traded with them of old, always praiſed them for their candor and honeſty. That part of the world is now a ſtate of confuſion, equally alarming to them and to us. Our ambition has ſowed diſcord every where, and our rapaciouſneſs has inſpired them with hatred, fear, and contempt for our continent; they look upon us as conquerors, uſurpers and oppreſſors, laviſh of blood, and greedy of riches. This is the character we have acquired in the eaſt. Our examples have increaſed the number of their national vices, at the ſame time that we have taught them to be in guard againſt ours.

If we had acted among the Indians upon honeſt principles; if we had ſhewn them that mutual advantage is the baſis of commerce; if we had encouraged their cultivation, and manufactures, by exchanges alike

BOOK V. alike advantageous to them and to us; we ſhould inſenſibly have gained their hearts. If we had fortunately taken care to preſerve their confidence in our dealings with them, we might have removed their prejudices, and, perhaps, changed their form of government. We ſhould have ſucceeded ſo far as to have lived amongſt them, and trained up civilized nations around us, who would have protected our ſettlements for our mutual intereſts. Every one of our eſtabliſhments would have been to each nation in Europe as their native country, where they would have found a ſure protection. Our ſituation in India is the conſequence of our profligacy, and of the ſanguinary ſyſtems we have introduced. The Indians imagine nothing is due to us, becauſe all our actions have ſhewn that we did not think ourſelves under any ties with reſpect to them.

THIS ſtate of perpetual contention is irkſome to moſt of the Aſiatic nations, and they ardently wiſh for a change. The diſorder of our affairs muſt have made us join in this wiſh. If we are all in the ſame diſpoſitions, and if one common intereſt really inclines us to peace and harmony, the beſt way to attain this deſireable end would perhaps be, that all the European nations who trade to India, ſhould agree among themſelves to maintain a neutrality in thoſe remote ſeas, which ſhould never be interrupted by the diſturbances, that ſo frequently happen on our own continent. If we could once conſider ourſelves, as members of one great commonwealth, we ſhould not want thoſe forces which make us odious abroad, and ruin us at home. But as our preſent ſpirit of diſcord will not permit us to expect that ſuch a change can ſoon take place, it remains only that we now conſider, whether Europe ought ſtill to carry on the India trade by charter companies, or to make it a free trade.

Whether Europe ought to lay open the trade to India, or carry it on by exclusive charters.

If this question were to be decided upon general principles, it would be easily answered. If we ask whether, in a state, which allows any particular branch of trade, every citizen has a right to partake of it; the answer is so plain as to leave no room for discussion. It would be unnatural, that subjects who share alike the burden and public expences of civil society, should not be alike partakers of the benefits arising from the compact that unites them; they would have cause to complain, that they sustain all the inconveniences of the institution, and are deprived of the benefits they expected to receive from it.

On the other hand, political notions are perfectly reconcileable with these ideas of justice. It is well known that freedom is the very soul of commerce, and that nothing else can bring it to perfection. It is well known, that competition awakens industry, and gives it all the vigour it is capable of acquiring. Yet for upwards of a century, the practise has constantly been contradictory to these principles.

All the nations of Europe, that trade to India, carry on that commerce by exclusive companies; and it must be confessed, that this practise is plausible, because it is hardly conceivable that great and enlightened nations should have been under a mistake for above a hundred years on so important a point, and that neither experience nor argument should have undeceived them. We must conclude therefore that either the advocates for liberty have given too great a latitude to their principles, or the favourers of exclusive privilege have too strenuously asserted the necessity of such limitations; possibly, both parties, from too great an attachment to their respective opinions, have overshot the mark, and are equally distant from the truth.

Ever since this famous question has been debated, it has always been thought to be a very simple one; it has

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has always been supposed that an India company must necessarily be exclusive, and that its existence was essentially connected with its privilege. Hence the advocates for freedom have asserted that exclusive privileges were odious; and, therefore, that there ought to be no company. Their opponents have argued on the contrary, that the nature of things required a company; and therefore that there must be an exclusive charter. But if we can make it appear that the reasons against charters prove nothing against companies, and that the circumstances which make it necessary to have an India company, do not supply any argument in favour of a charter; if we can demonstrate that the nature of things requires, indeed, a powerful association, a company for the India trade; but that the exclusive charter is connected only with particular causes, insomuch that the company may exist without the charter, we shall then have traced the source of the common error, and found out the solution of the difficulty.

Let us inquire what constitutes the particular nature of commercial transactions? It is the climate, the produce, the distance of places, the form of government, the genius and manners of the people who live under it. In the India trade, we must go six thousand miles off to fetch the commodities which those countries afford: we must get there at a certain season, and wait till another for the proper winds to return home. Therefore every voyage takes up about two years, and the owners must wait these two years for their returns. This is the first and a very material circumstance.

The nature of a government in which there is neither safety nor property will not permit the people to keep any public markets, or to lay up any stores. Let us represent to ourselves men who are depressed and corrupted by despotism, workmen who are unable to undertake any thing by themselves; and on the other

hand, nature more fruitful in her gifts, than power is rapacious, supplying a slothful people with food sufficient for their wants and their desires; and we shall wonder that any industry should be found in the Indies. And indeed we may safely say, that hardly any thing would be manufactured there, if we did not go and encourage the workmen with money in our hands, or if we did not take care to bespeak the goods we want, a year before hand. One third of the money is paid at the time of bespeaking the work, another when it is half done, and the rest on the delivery of the goods. From this mode of payment results a wide difference, both in the price and in the quality of the goods; but hence results likewise the necessity of always having a stock in hand, so that it remains out a year the longer, that is, three years instead of two. This is an alarming circumstance for a private man, especially if we consider the largeness of the stock that is requisite for such undertakings.

As the charges of navigation and the risques are immense, they cannot be supported without bringing home compleat cargoes, that is, cargoes of a million or a million and a half of livres *, at prime cost in the Indies. Where shall we find merchants, or even men of fortune, who can afford to advance such a sum to be reimbursed only at the end of three years? Undoubtedly there are very few in Europe; and among those who might have the power, scarce any would have the will. If we consult experience, we shall find that men of moderate fortunes only, are the persons who are inclined to run great risques, in order to make great profits. But when once a man is possessed of an ample fortune, he is inclined to enjoy it, and enjoy it with safety. Not that riches can quench the thirst,

* About 54,700 l. on an average.

after

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after them; on the contrary, they are often the occasion of it; but at the same time they furnish a thousand means of gratification without either trouble or danger. This opens to our view the necessity of entering into associations, where a number of men will not scruple to be concerned, because every individual will venture but a small part of his fortune, and will rate the measure of his profits upon the united stock of the whole society. This necessity will appear still more evident if we consider how the business of buying and selling is managed in India, and what precautions it requires.

To contract beforehand for a cargo, above fifty different agents must be employed, who are dispersed in different parts, at the distance of three, four and five hundred leagues from each other. When the work is done, it must be examined and measured, otherwise the goods would soon be found faulty from the dishonesty of the workmen, a vice they are but too much addicted to from the nature of their government, and from the influence of those various crimes of which the Europeans have set them the example for these three centuries past.

After all these details, there are still other operations remaining not less necessary to be done. They must employ whitsters, men to beat the linens, packers, and even bleaching grounds, with pools of water fit for the purpose. It would certainly be very difficult for individuals, to attend and to observe all these precautions; but supposing that by dint of industry it might be effected, it could not be carried on any longer than each of them could keep up a continued trade, and regularly ship off fresh cargoes. All these particulars are not to be executed in a short time, and not without established connections. Every private man, therefore, should be able to fit out a ship annually during three years, that is, to disburse four millions

of

of livres [h]. This is evidently impoſſible, and it is plain that ſuch an undertaking is only to be compaſſed by a ſociety.

BUT, perhaps, ſome houſes may be eſtabliſhed in India, to carry through the preparatory buſineſs, and to keep cargoes in readineſs for the ſhips that are to be ſent off to Europe.

THIS eſtabliſhment of trading houſes at ſix thouſand leagues from the mother country, with the immenſe ſtock that would be requiſite to pay the weavers beforehand, ſeems to be a viſionary ſcheme, inconſiſtent with reaſon and experience. Can it be ſeriouſly imagined that any merchants who have already acquired a fortune in Europe, will tranſmit it to Aſia to purchaſe a ſtock of muſlins, in expectation of ſhips that, perhaps, may never arrive, or if they ſhould, may be but few in number, or may not be able to purchaſe? On the contrary, we ſee that every European who has made a ſmall fortune in India, is intent upon returning home, and inſtead of trying to increaſe it by the eaſy means that private trade offers in thoſe parts, as well as the ſervice of the companies, they all wiſh to come and enjoy it quietly at home.

IF more proofs and inſtances were wanting, we need but attend to what paſſes in America. If we could ſuppoſe that commerce, and the hopes of the profits ariſing from it, were capable of alluring rich Europeans to quit their native country, it would certainly be to go and ſettle in that part of the world, which is much nearer than Aſia, and where they would find the laws and manners of Europe. It might naturally be ſuppoſed that the merchants ſhould buy up the ſugars beforehand of the planters, and keep them in readineſs to be delivered to the European ſhips as ſoon as they

[h] 175,000 l.

arrive, on receiving other commodities in exchange, which they would afterwards ſell to the planters when they wanted them. But it is quite the contrary. The merchants ſettled in America are no more than commiſſaries or factors, who tranſact the exchanges between the planters and the Europeans, but are ſo little in a condition to carry on a briſk trade on their own account, that when a ſhip has not met with an opportunity of diſpoſing of her lading, it is left in truſt, on the account of the captain, in the hands of the commiſſary to whom it was conſigned. It is reaſonable, therefore, to conclude, that what is not practiſed in America, would ſtill be leſs ſo in Aſia, where a larger ſtock would be wanted, and greater difficulties muſt be encountered. Add to this, that the ſuppoſed eſtabliſhment of trading houſes in India would not ſupercede the neceſſity of ſocieties in Europe; becauſe it would be equally neceſſary to diſburſe twelve or fifteen hundred thouſand livres[1] for the fitting out of every ſhip, which could never return into the ſtock till the third year at ſooneſt.

THIS neceſſity being once proved in every poſſible caſe, it is manifeſt that the trade of India is of ſuch a nature, that very few merchants, if any, can undertake it upon their own bottom, or carry it on by themſelves, and without the help of a great number of aſſociates. Having demonſtrated the neceſſity of theſe ſocieties, the next thing to be proved is, that their intereſt and the nature of things would incline them to unite in one and the ſame company.

THIS propoſition depends upon two principal reaſons: the danger of competition in the purchaſes and ſales, and the neceſſity of aſſortments.

THE competition of buyers and ſellers reduces the commodities to their juſt value. When the competition

[1] About 60,000l. on an average.

of ſellers is greater than that of buyers, the goods ſell for leſs than they are worth; and when there are more buyers than ſellers, their price is raiſed beyond their ordinary value. Let us apply this to the India trade.

When we ſuppoſe that this trade will extend in proportion to the number of private ſhips ſent there, we are not aware that this multiplicity will only increaſe the competition on the ſide of the buyers, whereas it is not in our power to increaſe it on the ſide of the ſellers. It is juſt the ſame thing as if we were to adviſe a number of traders to go and outbid one another, to get their goods the cheaper.

The Indians make hardly any conſumption of the produce either of our lands or of our induſtry. They have few wants, little ambition, and no great induſtry. They would eaſily go without the gold and ſilver of America, which is ſo far from procuring them any enjoyments, that it only ſerves to ſupport the tyranny under which they are oppreſſed. Thus, as all objects of exchange have no value but in proportion to the wants or the fancy of the exchangers, it is evident that in India our commodities are worth very little, whilſt thoſe we buy there are of great value. As long as we ſhall ſee no Indian ſhips come into our harbours to fetch away our ſtuffs and our metals, we may venture to affirm that thoſe people are not in want of us, and will conſequently make their own terms in all their dealings with us. Hence it follows, that the greater number there are of European merchants who are concerned in this trade, the more the produce of India will riſe, and our own ſink in value; and that at laſt it will be only by immenſe exports that we ſhall be able to procure any India goods at all. But if, in conſequence of this order of things, each particular ſociety is obliged to export more money, without bringing home more goods, they muſt carry on a loſing trade, and the ſame competition that began

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their ruin in Asia, will complete it in Europe; because the number of sellers being then greater, whilst the number of buyers is still the same, the societies will be obliged to sell at a lesser rate, after having bought at an advanced price.

The article of assortments is not less important. By assortments is meant the combination of all the several sorts of commodities that the different parts of India produce; a combination which is proportioned to the present plenty or scarcity of each kind of commodity in Europe. On this chiefly depends the success and all the profits of the trade. But nothing would be more difficult in the practice for private societies, than this assortment. How, indeed, should those circumscribed and unconnected societies, whose interest it is to conceal their operations from each other, acquire the knowledge that is requisite for this important purpose? How could they direct such a multitude of agents as must be employed? It is plain that the supercargoes and commissaries incapable of general views, would be all asking for the same sort of goods at the same time, in hopes of making a greater profit. This would of course enhance the price of that article in India, and lower it in Europe, to the great detriment of the owners, and of the nation in general.

All these considerations would certainly not escape the captains of ships and monied men, who would be solicited to enter into these societies. They would be discouraged by the fear of standing in competition with other societies, either in the buying, selling, or making up the assortments. The number of these societies would soon be reduced, and trade, instead of extending, would be daily contracted into a narrower circle, and finally be quite dropped.

It would, therefore, be for the interest of these private societies, as we have before observed, to unite together; because then all their agents both on the coast of Coromandel,

mandel, and on that of Malabar and in Bengal, being united and directed by one conſiſtent ſyſtem, would jointly labour in the ſeveral factories, to collect proper aſſortments for the cargoes that were to be ſent away from the chief factory, ſo that the whole ſhould make a compleat aſſortment when brought home, being collected upon a uniform plan, and proportioned according to the orders and inſtructions ſent from Europe.

But it would be in vain to expect that any ſuch union could take place without the concurrence of government. In ſome caſes, men require to be encouraged, and it is chiefly, as in the preſent inſtance, when they are afraid of being denied that protection which they ſtand in need of, or apprehenſive that favours may be granted to others, which may be injurious to them. Government would find it their intereſt to encourage this aſſociation, as it is certainly the ſureſt, if not the only way to procure at the cheapeſt rate, the India goods that are wanted for home conſumption, and for exportation. This truth will appear more ſtriking from a very ſimple inſtance.

Let us ſuppoſe a merchant, who freights a ſhip for India with a conſiderable ſtock. Will he commiſſion ſeveral agents at the ſame place to buy the goods he wants? Certainly not; becauſe he will be ſenſible that by executing his orders with great ſecreſy, each of them would injure the other, and muſt neceſſarily enhance the price of the goods; ſo that he would have a ſmaller quantity of the commodity for his money than if he had employed but one agent. The application is eaſy; government is the merchant, and the company is the agent.

We have proved hitherto that in the India trade, the nature of things requires that the ſubjects of one country ſhould unite into one company, both for their own intereſt and for that of the ſtate; but nothing has yet appeared,

peared, from whence it can be inferred that this company muſt be an excluſive one. We imagine on the contrary, that the excluſive privilege always granted to theſe companies, relates to ſomething that is quite foreign to the eſſence of this trade.

WHEN the ſeveral nations in Europe began to find that it was their intereſt to take a part in the trade of India, which individuals refuſed to do, though that commerce had long been open to all, they found themſelves under a neceſſity of forming companies, and giving them all the encouragement that ſo difficult an undertaking required. They lent them money; they decorated them with all the attributes of ſovereign power; they permitted them to ſend ambaſſadors; they empowered them to make peace and war, and unfortunately for them and for mankind, they have made but too much uſe of that fatal privilege. They found it neceſſary at the ſame time to ſecure to them the means of indemnifying themſelves for the expences of ſettlements which muſt be very conſiderable. This gave riſe to excluſive privileges, which at firſt were granted for a term of years, and afterwards made perpetual from the following circumſtances.

THE brilliant prerogatives granted to the companies, were in fact ſo many impediments to trade. The right of having fortreſſes, implied the neceſſity of building and defending them; that of having troops, implied the obligation of paying and recruiting them. The ſame held good with regard to the permiſſion of ſending ambaſſadors, and concluding treaties with the Indian princes. All this was attended with expences that were merely for ſhew, only fit to check the progreſs of trade, and to intoxicate the agents and factors of the companies, who fancied themſelves ſovereigns, and acted accordingly.

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NATIONS, however, found it very convenient to have a kind of colonies in Aſia, which ſeemed to coſt them nothing; and as it was but reaſonable, whilſt the companies bore all the burden of the expences, to ſecure to them all the profits, the privileges have been continued. But if, inſtead of attending only to this pretended oeconomy, which could be but temporary, they had extended their views to futurity, and connected all the events which muſt naturally be brought about in the courſe of a number of years, they muſt have foreſeen that the expences of ſovereignty which can never be aſcertained, becauſe they depend upon numberleſs political contingencies, would ſooner or later abſorb both the profits and the ſtock of a trading company: that then the public treaſury muſt be exhauſted to aſſiſt the chartered company, and that their favours, coming too late, could only repair the miſchief already done, but would not remove the cauſe, and would leave the companies for ever in a ſtate of mediocrity and languor.

BUT why ſhould not governments at laſt ſuffer themſelves to be undeceived? Why ſhould they not take upon themſelves a charge which properly belongs to them, and the burden of which, after having cruſhed the companies, muſt finally fall upon them? There would be then no further need of an excluſive privilege. The companies which now exiſt, and are valuable on account of their old connections and eſtabliſhed credit, ſhould be carefully preſerved. The appearance of monopoly would vaniſh for ever, and their freedom might enable them to purſue ſome new track, which they could not think of, whilſt they were encumbered with the charges annexed to the charter. On the other hand, the field of commerce, being open to all the members of the community, would fertilize and thrive in their hands. They would attempt new diſcoveries, and form new enterprizes. The trade from India to India, now ſure of a

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market in Europe, would grow briſker, and extend farther. The companies attentive to all theſe operations, would meaſure their dealings by the progreſs of private trade; and this competition, which would not be injurious to any, would be beneficial to the ſeveral ſtates.

We apprehend this ſyſtem would conduce to reconcile all intereſts, and is conſiſtent with all principles. It ſeems to be liable but to one rational objection, either on the part of the advocates for the excluſive charter, or of thoſe who contend for a free trade.

If the former ſhould aſſert, that the companies without the excluſive charter would have but a precarious exiſtence, and would ſoon be ruined by private traders; I ſhould anſwer them that they were ſurely then not in earneſt, when they affirmed that private trade could never ſucceed. For, if it is able to ruin that of the companies, as they now pretend, it can be but by engroſſing every branch of their trade againſt their will, by a ſuperiority of powers, and by the aſcendent of liberty. Beſides, what is it that really conſtitutes our companies? It is their ſtock, their ſhips, their factories, and not their excluſive charter. What is it that has always ruined them? Extravagant expences, abuſes of all kinds, viſionary undertakings; in a word, bad adminiſtration, far more deſtructive than competition. But if the diſtribution of their powers is made with prudence and oeconomy; if the ſpirit of property directs their operations, there is no obſtacle which they cannot ſurmount, no ſucceſs which they may not expect.

If this ſucceſs alarms the advocates for freedom, if they ſhould ſay on the other hand, that thoſe rich and powerful companies would terrify private men, and partly deſtroy that general and abſolute freedom which is ſo neceſſary to trade; we ſhould not be ſurpriſed to hear them ſtart this objection; for men are almoſt always guided by reports, both in their actions and opinions.

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I do not except from this error the greateſt part of our writers upon revenue. Commercial and civil liberty are the two tutelar deities of mankind, which we all reverence as well as they. But we are not to be ſeduced by words, we chuſe to attend to the idea they are meant to convey. I would aſk thoſe reſpectable enthuſiaſts for liberty, what they would wiſh; whether they would have the laws aboliſh the very name of thoſe ancient companies, that every citizen might boldly ruſh into the trade, and that they ſhould all have the ſame means of procuring enjoyments, and the ſame reſources to raiſe a fortune. But if ſuch laws, with all that parade of liberty, are in fact very excluſive laws, let not the deceitfulneſs of this language induce us to adopt them. When the ſtate allows all its members to carry on a trade that requires a large ſtock, and which conſequently very few are able to undertake, I would aſk what the bulk of the nation gets by this regulation. It ſeems as if we meant to expoſe their credulity, in permitting them to undertake impoſſibilities. If we totally ſuppreſs the companies, there will be no India trade at all, or it will be only carried on by a few capital merchants.

I WILL go further ſtill, and, bating the article of the excluſive charter, I will venture to affirm that the India company, by the manner in which they are ſettled, have made many people ſharers in their trade, who would otherwiſe never have been concerned in it. Conſider what a number of proprietors in every ſtation and of all ages partake of the profits of this trade, and you will allow that it would have been far more circumſcribed if it had been in private hands; that the exiſtence of companies has only diffuſed it, whilſt it ſeemed to reſtrain it; and that the moderate price of the ſhares muſt be a powerful motive to the people, to wiſh for the preſervation of an eſtabliſhment, which opens to them a track

that

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that would for ever have been ſhut againſt them, by a free trade.

In truth, we believe that companies and private men might equally proſper without injuring one another, or creating any jealouſies between them. The companies might ſtill purſue thoſe great objects, which, by their nature and extent, can only be managed by a wealthy and powerful aſſociation. Private men, on the contrary, would confine themſelves to ſuch objects as are in a manner overlooked by a great company, but might, by proper oeconomy, and the combination of many ſmall powers, become a ſource of riches to the parties concerned.

It muſt be left to ſtateſmen, who by their talents are called to the management of public affairs, to decide upon the notions of an obſcure citizen, who may have been miſled by his want of experience. The ſyſtem of politics cannot too ſoon nor too deeply be applied to regulate a trade which ſo eſſentially concerns the fate of nations, and will, probably, always be an affair of the utmoſt conſequence.

To put an end to all intercourſe between Europe and India, that luxury which has made ſuch rapid progreſs in our part of the world, ſhould be baniſhed from every ſtate. Our effeminacy ſhould not create a thouſand wants, unknown to our forefathers. The rivalſhip of trade ſhould no longer agitate the ſeveral nations who vie with each other in amaſſing riches. There ſhould be ſuch revolutions in the manners, cuſtoms, and opinions of men, as are never likely to happen. We ſhould return within the limits of nature, which we ſeemed to have abandoned for ever.

Such are the laſt reflections ſuggeſted to us with reſpect to the connections of Europe to Aſia: let us now turn our thoughts to America.

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Discovery of America. Conquest of Mexico, and settlements of the Spaniards in that part of the new world.

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Parallel of ancient and modern history.

ANCIENT history presents to us a magnificent scene. The continued representation of great revolutions, heroic manners, and extraordinary events will become more and more interesting, the more uncommon it is to find occurrences that bear any resemblance to them. The time of founding and of destroying empires is past. The man, before whom *the world was silent*, is no more. The different nations of the earth, after repeated shocks, and long and obstinate struggles between ambition and liberty, seem at last settled in the wretched tranquillity of servitude. They now employ thunder in their battles, for the sake of taking a few towns, and gratifying the whims of a few powerful men; they formerly employed the sword to ruin and to establish kingdoms, or to avenge the natural rights of mankind. Our history is become insipid and trifling, yet we are not become more happy. A regular and daily oppression has succeeded to the troubles and storms of conquest; and we see with indifference the various ranks of slaves combating each other with their chains for the amusement of their masters.

EUROPE, that part of the globe, which has most influence over the rest, seems to have fixed itself on a solid and durable foundation. It is composed of communities that are almost in the same degree powerful, enlightened,

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lightened, extended, and jealous. They encroach perpetually upon each other; and in the midſt of this continued fluctuation, ſome will gain and others loſe, and the balance will alternately incline to different ſides, without ever being entirely deſtroyed. The fanaticiſm of religion, and the ſpirit of conqueſt, thoſe two diſturbers of the univerſe operate no longer. That great machine, whoſe extremity was attached to the earth, and whoſe center of motion was in heaven, is now broken; and kings begin to diſcover (though not for the happineſs of their people, who attract but little of their attention, but for their own private intereſt) that the great end of government is to obtain riches and ſecurity. Hence they keep up large armies, fortify their frontiers, and encourage trade.

A SPIRIT of barter and exchange hath ariſen in Europe, that ſeems to open a vaſt ſcene of ſpeculation to adventurers, but can only ſubſiſt in the midſt of peace and tranquillity. A war, among commercial nations, is a conflagration that deſtroys them all; it is an action, which brings the whole fortune of a great merchant into queſtion, and makes all his creditors tremble. The time is not far off, when the tacit ſanction of government will extend to the private engagements between ſubjects of different nations; and when thoſe bankruptcies, the effects of which are felt at immenſe diſtances, will become matters of ſtate. In theſe mercantile ſtates, the diſcovery of an iſland, the importation of a new commodity, the invention of ſome uſeful machine, the conſtruction of a port, the eſtabliſhment of a factory, the carrying off a branch of trade from a rival nation, theſe will be eſteemed atchievements of the higheſt importance; and the annals of nations will in future be written by commercial philoſophers, as they were formerly by hiſtorical orators.

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THE diſcovery of a new world would alone be ſufficient to furniſh employment for our curioſity. A vaſt continent entirely uncultivated, human nature reduced to the mere animal ſtate, fields without harveſts, treaſures without proprietors, ſocieties without policy, and men without manners, what an intereſting and inſtructive ſpectacle would theſe have formed for a Locke, a Buffon, and a Monteſquieu! What hiſtory could be ſo wonderful, ſo delightful, ſo affecting as the detail of their journey! But the ſtamp of rude unpoliſhed nature is already diſfigured. We ſhall endeavour to collect the features of it, though now half effaced, as ſoon as we have made the reader acquainted with thoſe rapacious and cruel chriſtians, whom an unhappy chance firſt brought to this further hemiſphere.

Ancient revolutions of Spain.

SPAIN, which was known in the firſt ages under the names of Heſperia and Iberia, was inhabited by people, who, defended on one ſide by the ſea, and on the other by the Pyrenees, enjoyed in peace an agreeable climate, a plentiful ſoil, and governed themſelves according to their own cuſtoms. The ſouthern part of this nation had in ſome degree emerged from its ſtate of barbariſm, by the ſtrong connections it maintained with foreigners; but the inhabitants of the coaſts on the ocean continued to reſemble all thoſe nations, which know no other occupation but that of the chace. They were ſo attached to this kind of life, that they left the toils of agriculture to their wives; the fatigues of which they had brought them to ſupport by eſtabliſhing general aſſemblies annually, in which thoſe who had moſt diſtinguiſhed themſelves in the exerciſe of cultivation, received public applauſe.

SUCH was the ſituation of Spain, when the Carthaginians caſt their longing eyes on a country filled with riches, of which its inhabitants were entirely ignorant.

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These merchants, whose ships covered the Mediterranean, introduced themselves in the quality of friends, who offered numberless commodities in return for useless metals. The temptations of a trade so advantageous in appearance, blinded the Spaniards to that degree, that they permitted the Carthaginians to build upon their coasts houses for their occasional residence, magazines for the security of their merchandise, and temples for the exercise of their religion. These establishments insensibly became fortified places, of which this trading power, whose policy was superior to its arms, availed itself to enslave a credulous nation, always divided within itself and irreconcileable in its enmities. By bribing some and intimidating others, Carthage succeeded in the reduction of Spain by the assistance of Spanish soldiers and Spanish wealth.

No sooner were the Carthaginians become masters of the greatest and most valuable part of this fine country, than they shewed that they either knew not or despised the means of establishing their dominion. Instead of continuing to appropriate to themselves the gold and silver, with which the conquered nations were abundantly supplied from their mines, by exchanging for them commodities of little value, they chose to carry off every thing by force. Nor was this tyrannical disposition peculiar to the republic: the general, the officers, the private men and even the merchants acted upon the same principle. The violence of their proceedings threw the conquered provinces into despair, and made the apprehension of so heavy a yoke intolerable to those which were yet free. In this temper of mind both of them took the resolution of accepting assistance, as fatal to them as their injuries were cruel. Spain became a theatre of jealousy, ambition and hatred between Rome and Carthage.

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THE two commonwealths contended with great obſtinacy for the empire of this fine part of Europe; and, perhaps, it would finally have belonged to neither of them, if the Spaniards had continued quiet ſpectators of the quarrel, and left the rival nations time to exhauſt each other. But they choſe to become actors in the bloody ſcene, and thus reduced themſelves to be ſlaves to the Romans, in which ſtate they continued till the fifth century.

IN a ſhort time the degeneracy of thoſe maſters of the world inſpired the ſavage nations of the north with courage to ſeize upon ſome provinces that were ill governed and ill defended. Theſe barbarians being robbers by profeſſion, were incapable of becoming citizens; they made war upon each other. The Goths ſuperior in abilities or good fortune ſubdued the reſt, and reduced all the kingdoms of Spain into one, which, notwithſtanding the defects in its conſtitution, and the unbounded extortions of the Jews, who were the only merchants, ſupported itſelf till the commencement of the eighth century.

AT this period, the Moors, who had made themſelves maſters of Africa, with that impetuoſity, which was the characteriſtic of all their enterprizes, paſſed the ſea. They found a king without virtue and without abilities; a multitude of courtiers, and not one miniſter; ſoldiers without courage, and generals without experience; an effeminate people, diſguſted with the government, and diſpoſed to change; and beſide theſe rebels, who joined them for the ſake of plundering, burning, and maſſacring all that fell in their way. In leſs than three years, the ſovereignty of the Chriſtians was deſtroyed, and that of the infidels eſtabliſhed upon a ſolid foundation.

SPAIN was indebted to its conquerors for the ſeeds of taſte, humanity, politeneſs, philoſophy, many arts, and a con-

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a conſiderable trade. Theſe flouriſhing times laſted not long. The numberleſs ſects, that aroſe among the conquerors, and the irreparable faults they committed in eſtabliſhing diſtinct ſovereigns in all the principal towns of their dominion, ſoon put an end to them.

DURING this time the Goths, who, to avoid the Mohammedan power, had fixed their aſylum in the extremity of the Aſturias, were labouring under the yoke of anarchy, plunged in a barbarous ſtate of ignorance, oppreſt by their fanatical prieſts, languiſhing in inexpreſſible poverty, and perpetually harraſſed by civil wars. Under the influence of theſe calamities, far from availing themſelves of the diviſions among their enemies, they thought themſelves ſufficiently happy to be forgotten, or not to be known by them. But as ſoon as the crown, which was originally elective, became hereditary in the tenth century; as ſoon as the nobility and biſhops became incapable of diſturbing the ſtate; and the people raiſed from ſlavery were admitted to a ſhare of the government, the national ſpirit began to revive. The Arabians attacked on every ſide, were ſucceſſively ſtripped of their conqueſts. At the end of the fifteenth century they had but one little kingdom remaining.

THEIR fall would have been more rapid, had they been engaged with a power, that could have united in one common center, the conqueſts it gained over them. But this was not the caſe. The Mohammedans were attacked by different chiefs, each of which was at the head of an independent ſtate. Spain was divided into as many kingdoms, as it contained provinces; and it was not till after a long time, many ſucceſſions, wars and revolutions, that theſe petty ſtates were at laſt melted down into the two monarchies of Caſtile and Arragon. After which the marriage of Iſabella with Ferdinand, having happily united all the crowns of Spain in one family,

mily, they found themselves equal to the enterprize of attacking the kingdom of Granada.

This state, which scarcely occupied one eighth part of the peninsula of Spain, had always been in a flourishing condition from the time of the invasion of the Saracens: but it grew more prosperous in proportion as the successes of the christians induced a greater number of the infidel inhabitants to take refuge there; at which time it consisted of three millions of inhabitants. Throughout the rest of Europe there were no lands so well cultivated; such numerous and improved manufactures; so regular and so extensive a navigation. The public revenues amounted to seven millions of livres [z]; a prodigious sum at a time when gold and silver were very scarce.

These important advantages, far from deterring the monarchs of Castile and Arragon from invading Granada, were the motives that principally stimulated them to the enterprize. It cost them a ten years bloody war to subdue this flourishing province. The conquest of it was completed by the taking of the capital in the beginning of January, 1492.

Columbus forms the design of discovering America.

It was in these glorious circumstances, that Christopher Columbus, a man of obscure birth, whose knowledge of astronomy and navigation was far superior to that of his cotemporaries, proposed to the Spaniards who were happy at home, to aggrandize themselves abroad. He was led by a secret impulse to imagine that there must certainly be another continent, and that he was the person destined to discover it. The notion of Antipodes, which superstition had condemned as heretical and impious, and reason itself had treated as chimerical, appeared to this penetrating genius to have its foundation in truth. This idea, perhaps the boldest that ever

z About 306,000l.

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entered into the heart of man, took ſtrong poſſeſſion of his imagination, and having in vain propoſed the acquiſition of a new hemiſphere, to his native country Genoa, to Portugal where he then reſided, and even to England which he might have expected would have readily embraced every project of extending its maritime power: he communicated his deſigns to Iſabella.

THE miniſters of this princeſs who looked upon the ſcheme of diſcovering a new world as the project of a diſtempered brain, treated the author of it for ſome time with that contemptuous inſolence, which true genius often experiences from men in power, whoſe abilities do not riſe beyond the common ſtandard. But no difficulties could diſcourage Columbus, who like all others that engage in extraordinary enterprizes, had a large ſhare of that enthuſiaſm, which renders them ſuperior to the cavils of the ignorant, the contempt of the proud, the evaſions of the covetous, and the delays of the indolent. At length by dint of perſeverance, ſpirit and courage, aſſiſted by the arts of prudence and addreſs, he ſurmounted every difficulty. Having obtained a grant of three ſmall veſſels, and ninety men; he ſet ſail on the 3d of Auguſt 1492, with the title of admiral and viceroy of the iſlands and territories he ſhould diſcover.

HAVING ſailed a conſiderable length of time, the ſhips crews terrified with the idea of the immenſe tract of ocean, which lay between them and their native country, began to deſpair of the ſucceſs of their undertaking. Their diſcontent roſe to that height, that they more than once formed the deſign of throwing Columbus overboard, and returning to Spain. The admiral concealed his chagrin, as well as he could: but finding that a mutiny would immediately enſue, he aſſured his companions that if he did not diſcover land in three days, he would ſail back to Europe. For ſome time paſt, on ſounding, he had found a bottom, and from other circumſtances,

ſtances, had good reaſon to conclude that he was not far from land.

Arrival of Columbus in the new world.

THE new world was diſcovered in October. Columbus landed on one of the Lucayas or Bahama iſlands, which he called San-Salvador, and took poſſeſſion of it in the name of Iſabella. The Spaniards at that time did not imagine there could be any injuſtice in ſeizing upon a country, which was not inhabited by chriſtians.

THE iſlanders on ſeeing the ſhips, and a race of men ſo different from their own, were terrified and ran away. The Spaniards caught ſome of them; treated them with great civility, and diſmiſſed them loaded with preſents.

THIS behaviour intirely diſſipated the fears of the whole nation: the inhabitants appeared upon the ſhore without arms. Several of them came on board. They viewed every thing with admiration. Their manner was free and open. They brought fruits. They aſſiſted the Spaniards in getting on ſhore, by taking them upon their ſhoulders. The inhabitants of the neighbouring iſlands ſhowed the ſame obliging diſpoſition. The ſailors ſent by Columbus to make diſcoveries, every where met with the kindeſt reception. Men, women, and children, were employed in furniſhing them with proviſions. They filled the hammocks where they ſlept, with the fineſt cotton. But it was gold that the Spaniards wanted, and they ſoon diſcovered it. Several of the ſavages wore ornaments made of this precious metal, which they preſented to their new gueſts: who on their part were more diſguſted with the naked appearance and ſimplicity of theſe people, than penetrated with their kindneſs. They were incapable of diſcerning in them the genuine characters of nature. Surprized to find men of a copper colour without beards or hair on their bodies, they looked upon them as a race of imperfect animals, who were only to be treated with humanity, till the ne-

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ceſſary information was obtained in regard to the neighbouring countries, and the gold mines.

HAVING taken a view of ſeveral ſmaller iſlands, Columbus landed on the north ſide of a large iſland called by the natives Hayti; to which he gave the name of Hiſpaniola, and which is now called San Domingo: he was conducted thither by ſome ſavages of the other iſlands who accompanied him without the leaſt diſtruſt, and gave him to underſtand that the great iſland furniſhed them with the metal the Spaniards were ſo fond of.

Cuſtoms of the people of Hayti, ſince known by the name of Hiſpaniola.

THE iſland of Hayti, which is two hundred leagues in length, and ſixty, and in ſome places eighty in breadth, is divided from eaſt to weſt by a chain of mountains, which occupy the center of the iſland, and are for the moſt part ſteep. It was diſtributed into five populous kingdoms, the inhabitants of which lived in perfect amity. Their kings who were called Caciques, were abſolute, and much beloved. The complexion of theſe people was much fairer than in the other iſlands. They painted their bodies. The men went quite naked. The married women wore a kind of cotton petticoat, which reached no further than their knees. The girls as well as the men, were naked. Their food was maize, roots, fruit, and ſhell-fiſh. As they were temperate, nimble and active, but not ſtrong, they were averſe from labour. They lived free from care in a ſtate of agreeable indolence. Their time was ſpent in dancing, diverſion and ſleep. By the accounts the Spaniards give of them, they ſhewed little marks of genius: and indeed this muſt be the caſe with iſlanders, who living in a ſtate of ſeparation from the reſt of mankind, muſt of neceſſity have very confined ideas. Detached ſocieties arrive at improvement by ſlow and painful advances. They derive no advantages of refinement from thoſe diſcoveries, which time and experience throw in the way of other people: and

and their adventures are too few to afford them many opportunities of acquiring knowledge.

The Spaniards themſelves confeſs that theſe people were humane, void of malice and revenge, and almoſt diveſted of any paſſion whatever. They were ignorant, but ſhewed no deſire to be inſtructed. This indifference and the confidence they repoſed in ſtrangers, prove that they were happy. Their hiſtory and their notions of morality were contained in a collection of ſongs, which they learned from their infancy: and they had in common with all nations ſome fables concerning the origin of the human race.

We know little of their religion, to which they paid no great attention; and it is probable that in this reſpect as well as in many others they have been calumniated by the authors of their deſtruction; who pretend that theſe iſlanders, whoſe manners were ſo gentle, paid adoration to a number of malevolent beings. The worſhippers of a malevolent deity can never be virtuous.

They had no law that preſcribed any limited number of wives. It was common for one of them to have ſome privileges and diſtinctions allotted her; but theſe gave her no authority over the reſt. She was one whom the huſband loved the beſt, and by whom he thought himſelf beſt beloved. On the death of her partner, ſhe ſometimes cauſed herſelf to be buried in the ſame grave with him. This was not a cuſtom, a duty, or a point of honour among this people: but the wife found it impoſſible to ſurvive the object of her tendereſt affection. This freedom in love and marriage, which was authorized by their laws and manners, was by the Spaniards called debauchery, licentiouſneſs, and vice: and to the pretended exceſſive indulgence of the iſlanders in this point, they attributed the riſe of a diſtemper, which, as a philoſophical phyſician has lately demonſtrated in a treatiſe on

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the origin of the venereal diſeaſe, was known in Europe before the diſcovery of America.

THESE iſlanders had no other weapons than a bow and arrows made of wood, the point of which, being hardened in the fire, was ſometimes armed with ſharp ſtones, or the bone of a fiſh. The ordinary Spaniſh dreſs was of itſelf an impenetrable armour againſt arrows of this kind, ſhot with little dexterity. Theſe weapons and ſome ſmall clubs or rather large ſticks, which could ſeldom give a mortal blow, were far from making theſe people formidable.

THEY were diſtinguiſhed into different claſſes, one of which laid claim to a kind of nobility: but we are little acquainted either with the prerogatives annexed to this diſtinction, or the means of obtaining it. This ignorant and ſavage people had alſo ſorcerers among them, who were always either the offſpring or parents of ſuperſtition.

COLUMBUS omitted nothing that might engage the friendſhip of theſe iſlanders. But at the ſame time he made them ſenſible, that though he had no inclination to hurt them, he did not want the power. The proofs he gave in their preſence of the ſurprizing effects of his artillery, convinced them of the truth of what he ſaid. They looked upon the Spaniards as men deſcended from heaven, and the preſents they received, were, in their eſtimation, not meer curioſities, but ſacred things. This error was productive of great advantages: nor was it removed by any act of folly or cruelty. They gave the ſavages red caps, glaſs beads, pins, knives, and bells, and received in return gold and proviſions.

COLUMBUS took advantage of this harmony to fix upon a place for a ſettlement, which he deſigned ſhould be the center of all his future projects. He erected a fort with the aſſiſtance of the iſlanders, who chearfully laboured to forge chains for themſelves. He left thirty-

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nine Caſtilians in the place; and having reconnoitred the greateſt part of the iſland, ſailed for Spain.

He arrived at Palos a port of Andaluſia, from whence he had ſet ſail ſeven months before. He proceeded by land to Barcelona, where the court reſided. This voyage was a triumph. The nobility and people went to meet him, and followed him in crouds to the preſence of Ferdinand and Iſabella. He preſented to them ſome iſlanders, who had voluntarily accompanied him. He produced pieces of gold, birds, cotton, and many curioſities, which were valuable on account of their novelty. Such a variety of uncommon objects expoſed to the view of a people, whoſe vanity inflamed by imagination magnified every thing, made them fancy that they ſaw an inexhauſtible ſource of riches for ever flowing into their country. The enthuſiaſm ſpread and reached even to the throne. At the public audience the ſovereign gave to Columbus, he was permitted to be covered, and to ſit as a grandee of Spain. He related his voyage to them. They loaded him with careſſes, commendations, and honours; and ſoon after he reimbarked with ſeventeen ſail to make new diſcoveries, and to eſtabliſh colonies.

On his arrival at San Domingo with fifteen hundred ſoldiers, three hundred artificers, miſſionaries, corn, fruits, and ſuch domeſtic animals as were unknown in the new world; Columbus found his fortreſs demoliſhed, and all the Spaniards maſſacred. It appeared on examination clear to Columbus, that they had drawn this misfortune upon themſelves by their haughty, licentious, and tyrannical behaviour: and he had the addreſs to perſuade thoſe who had leſs moderation than himſelf, that it was good policy to poſtpone their revenge to another time. They employed themſelves entirely in ſcrutinizing the mines, the working of which was one day to coſt ſo much blood, and in building forts in the

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Cruelties exercised towards the Indians at Hispaniola.

neighbourhood with sufficient garrisons to protect their labours.

In the mean time, the provisions that had been brought from Europe, were spoilt by the damp heat of the climate; and the few hands sent over for the purpose of raising vegetables in a country so favourable to their growth, were either dead, or disabled by sickness. The military people were desired to supply their place; but they disdained an employment that was to procure them subsistence. Indolence began then to be an honourable distinction in Spain. To do nothing was esteemed the characteristic of a gentleman: and the meanest soldier chose to live in the high stile, in a country where he had the command. The islanders offered them every thing, but they required more. They were perpetually asking them for provisions and gold. In short, these unfortunate people harassed themselves in gardening, hunting, fishing, and working in the mines to gratify the insatiable Spaniards: who at the same time, considered them in no other light, but that of traitors and rebellious slaves, whose lives might be taken away at pleasure.

Columbus finding that the Indians were exasperated by this barbarous treatment, returned from pursuing his discoveries, in hopes of bringing the parties to a reconciliation: but the mutinous clamours of a fierce and rapacious soldiery drove him into hostilities, which were contrary to his sentiments both as a man and as a politician: with two hundred foot and twenty horse, he ventured to attack an army said to consist of a hundred thousand men, on the spot where the city of St. Jago was afterwards built.

The unhappy Indians were conquered before the engagement. They considered the Spaniards as beings of a superior order. Their admiration, respect and fear, were increased by the European armour: and the sight of

of the horſe in particular, aſtoniſhed them beyond meaſure. Many of them were ſimple enough to believe that the man and the horſe were the ſame animal, or a kind of deity. Had their courage even been proof againſt theſe impreſſions of terror, they could have made but a faint reſiſtance. The cannonading, the pikes, and a diſcipline to which they were ſtrangers, muſt have eaſily diſperſed them. They fled on all ſides. They demanded peace, which was granted them on condition that they ſhould cultivate the land for the Spaniards, and furniſh them with a certain quantity of gold every month.

THESE hard terms, and the cruelties that aggravated them, ſoon became inſupportable. To avoid them, the iſlanders took refuge in the mountains, where they hoped to procure the ſmall ſubſiſtence their neceſſities required by hunting and gathering wild fruits, till their enemies who each of them required more nouriſhment than ten Indians, finding themſelves deprived of proviſions, ſhould be obliged to repaſs the ſeas. But they were diſappointed in their expectations. The Caſtilians maintained themſelves by the ſupplies they received from Europe, and purſued their horrid plan with more eagerneſs than ever. No place was inacceſſible to their rage. They trained their dogs to hunt and devour the unhappy Indians: and ſome of them made a vow to maſſacre twelve every day in honour of the twelve Apoſtles. By theſe means a third part of theſe nations was deſtroyed. On their arrival, the iſland was ſuppoſed to contain a million of inhabitants. All accounts agree that this number is not exaggerated; and it is certain that the population was conſiderable.

THOSE who did not fall a prey to miſery, fatigue, alarm, and the ſword, were forced to ſubmit to the will of the conqueror, who exerciſed his power with more rigour, as it was not now reſtrained by the preſence of Columbus. This great man was returned to Spain to inform

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inform the court of the barbarities, which the character of the people under him made it impoſſible for him to prevent, and which the voyages he was perpetually engaged in, did not ſuffer him to controul. During his abſence, the colony which he had left under his brother's command was torn by diſſentions, animoſities, and mutinies. No orders were obeyed, unleſs when ſome Cacique was to be dethroned, ſome Hord pillaged or demoliſhed, or ſome nation extirpated. The moment theſe ſavage troops had got poſſeſſion of the treaſures of theſe unhappy people, whoſe throats they had cut, the diſturbances were renewed. The deſire of independency, and the difficulty of making an equal diſtribution of plunder among a ſet of men equally greedy, created diſſentions. Authority was no longer reſpected; the ſubalterns paid as little regard to their commanders, as the commanders did to the laws: and open war at laſt broke out among themſelves.

THE Indians who ſometimes bore a part in theſe bloody and deteſtable ſcenes, and were always witneſſes of them, recovered their courage a little. Notwithſtanding their ſimplicity, they ſaw far enough to judge that it was by no means impracticable to rid themſelves of a ſmall number of tyrants who appeared to have loſt ſight of their projects, and attended to nothing but the gratification of the implacable hatred they bore to one another: animated by this hope, they embarked in a confederacy which was managed with more addreſs than could have been expected, and had acquired conſiderable ſtrength. The Spaniards who perſiſted in deſtroying each other, notwithſtanding they were threatened by ſo great a danger, would probably have fallen victims to their own obſtinacy, had not Columbus arrived from Europe at this critical juncture.

THE diſtinguiſhed reception he had met with there at firſt, had made but a ſlight impreſſion upon the people;

time which brings in reflection to counterwork the magic of enthuſiaſm had deſtroyed that fondneſs for expedition to the new world which at firſt ſo ſtrongly prevailed. The oſtentatious diſplay of the treaſures brought from thence, ceaſed to be an incitement: on the contrary the livid complexions of all the people who returned home; and the ſevere and diſgraceful diſtempers under which the greater part laboured; the accounts of the unwholeſomeneſs of the climate, of the numbers who had loſt their lives, and the hardſhips they had undergone from the ſcarcity of proviſions: an unwillingneſs to be under the command of a foreigner who was blamed for the ſeverity of his diſcipline: and, perhaps, the jealouſy they entertained of his growing reputation, all contributed to produce an inſuperable prejudice againſt San Domingo, in the ſubjects of the province of Caſtile, the only Spaniards who were allowed to embark in that enterprize.

It was neceſſary, however, to procure planters at any rate: the admiral therefore propoſed to have recourſe to the priſons, and by reſcuing the greateſt malefactors from death and infamy to make them the inſtruments of extending the power of their country, of which they had been the bane and diſgrace. This project would have been attended with fewer inconveniencies in ſuch colonies as having gained a more ſolid eſtabliſhment, might by the force of their laws and the purity of their manners, reſtrain or correct the exceſſes of a few licentious and profligate individuals. But infant ſtates require founders of a different character from a train of banditti. America will never get rid of the remains of that alloy which debaſed the firſt colonies that were tranſported thither from Europe. Columbus ſoon experienced the ill effects of his injudicious propoſal.

Had this enterprizing ſeaman carried out with him men of the common ſtamp, he might, during the voyage, have inſpired them with honeſt principles at leaſt, if

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if not with high notions of honour. These persons on their arrival, would have constituted a majority, and the rest would have been obliged, or rather disposed to adopt the examples of moderation and obedience, they would have set them. Such a harmony would have been productive of the most salutary effects, and have established the colony on the most solid foundation. The Indians would have been treated in a better manner, the mines worked to greater advantage, and the taxes more easily levied. The mother country animated by this success to the greatest attempts, might have formed new settlements, which would have augmented the glory, the wealth, and the power of Spain. These important events which might have been brought forward in a few years, were rendered abortive by this single piece of mismanagement.

The malefactors who accompanied Columbus, in conjunction with the free-booters at San Domingo, formed a society the most abandoned imaginable. They were strangers to subordination, decency, and humanity. The admiral in particular, was the object of their resentment, who saw too late the false step he had taken himself; or into which, perhaps, he had been betrayed by his enemies. This extraordinary man, paid very dear for the fame which his genius and industry had procured him. His life exhibited a perpetual contrast between those incidents, which either elate or depress the mind of a conqueror. He was not only continually exposed to cabals, calumnies, and the ingratitude of individuals, but had the caprice of a haughty and suspicious court to encounter, which by turns rewarded, or punished, caressed, or disgraced him.

The prejudice entertained by the Spanish ministry against the author of the greatest discovery ever made, operated so far, that an arbitrator was dispatched to the new world, to decide between Columbus and his soldiers.

diers. Bovadilla, the moſt ambitious, ſelf-intereſted, unjuſt, and hot headed perſon America had ever beheld, arrived at San Domingo, put the admiral in irons, and conducted him to Spain like the worſt of criminals. The court aſhamed of ſo ignominious a treatment, granted him his liberty; but without redreſſing the injury he had received, or reſtoring him to his employments. Such was the fate of this unconimon man, who, to the aſtoniſhment of Europe, added a fourth part to the earth, or rather half a world to this globe, which had been ſo long deſolate, and ſo little known. It might reaſonably have been expected that public gratitude would have given the name of this bold adventurer to the new hemiſphere, the firſt diſcovery of which was owing to his enterprizing genius. This was the leaſt homage of reſpect, that could be paid to his memory: but either through envy, inattention, or the caprice of fortune in the diſtribution of fame; this honour was reſerved for Americus Veſpucius, who only trod in the footſteps of a man whoſe name ought to ſtand foremoſt in the liſt of great characters. Thus the very æra which added America to the known world, was diſtinguiſhed by a ſpecimen of injuſtice, which was a fatal prelude to thoſe ſcenes of violence, of which theſe unhappy climes were afterwards to be the theatre.

After the diſgrace of Columbus, and the death of Iſabella, theſe abuſes became more frequent. The iſlanders, though condemned to undergo a degree of drudgery, which often proved fatal to them, and to pay the moſt exorbitant fines, had hitherto continued to live in their hords, after the manner of the country, and under the government of their caciques. In the year 1506, Ferdinand was petitioned to make a diſtribution of them among the conquerors, that they might be employed in the mines, or in any other kinds of labour, that tyranny might think proper to inflict. Religion

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and policy were the two pretences made uſe of to palliate this inhuman plan. It was urged, that ſo long as theſe ſavages were tolerated in their ſuperſtitions, they would never embrace chriſtianity; and would always be in a diſpoſition to revolt, unleſs their diſperſion put it out of their power to make any attempt. The monarch complied with their requeſt at the inſtance of the clergy, whoſe intolerant principles always tranſported them into violent meaſures. The whole iſland was divided into a great number of diſtricts. Every Spaniard, whether a native of Caſtile or Arragon, was indiſcriminately allotted a larger or ſmaller part, in proportion to his rank, intereſt, or birth. The Indians aſſigned to each diſtrict, from this inſtant became ſlaves whoſe ſervices and lives were at the diſpoſal of their maſters. This cruel arrangement was afterwards adopted in all the ſettlements in the new world.

THE produce of the mines was now more certain. At firſt one half belonged to the crown. This claim was afterwards reduced to one third, and at length limited to a fifth part.

THE treaſures brought from San Domingo, excited the avarice even of thoſe who would not venture to croſs the ſeas. The grandees, and thoſe who had employments in the ſtate, obtained grants by which they enriched themſelves without any trouble. They committed the care of them to agents who were to make their own fortunes, while they increaſed thoſe of their principals. Impoſſible as it ſeemed, there was now an augmentation of cruelties. In five years after this barbarous ſyſtem took place, the natives were reduced to fourteen thouſand; and the continent and the adjacent iſlands were obliged to be ranſacked for ſavages to ſupply their place.

THEY were indiſcriminately chained together like beaſts. Thoſe who ſank under their burdens, were compelled

compelled to riſe by ſevere blows. No intercourſe paſſed between the ſexes but by ſtealth. The men periſhed in the mines, and the women in the fields, which they cultivated with their weak hands. Their conſtitutions already exhauſted, with exceſſive labour, were ſtill further impaired by an unwholeſome and ſcanty diet. The mothers expired with hunger and fatigue, preſſing their dead or dying infants to their breaſts, ſhrivelled and contracted for want of a proper ſupply of milk. The fathers either poiſoned themſelves; or ſought death on thoſe very trees on which they had juſt before ſeen their wives or their children expire.

The Spaniards, before their firſt ſettlements in the new world were laid waſte by theſe ſcenes of horror, had formed ſome of leſs note at Jamaica, Porto-Rico, and Cuba. Velaſquez, who founded the laſt of theſe, was deſirous that his colony ſhould enjoy, together with that of San Domingo, the advantage of making diſcoveries upon the continent, and he fixed upon Francis Hernandez of Cordova to conduct this glorious undertaking. He furniſhed him with three veſſels, and a hundred and ten men, with permiſſion to erect forts, to bring off ſlaves, or to export gold at his own diſcretion. This voyage which was made in 1517, was productive of no event except the diſcovery of Lyncatan.

John of Gryalva who was fitted out the following year with a view of obtaining a more accurate knowledge of this country, diſcharged his commiſſion with ability; but he did not confine himſelf to this object: he ſurveyed the coaſt of Campeachy, purſued his voyage ſtill further north, and diſembarked wherever he found a convenient landing place. Though he did not always meet with a favourable reception, his expedition proved extremely ſucceſsful. He brought home a great quantity of gold, and got a ſufficient inſight into the extent, opulence, and ſtrength of Mexico.

The

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Cortez sets out for the conquest of Mexico. What happened to him off Tabasco.

THE conquest of this vast empire appeared too great an undertaking for a man of Gryalva's abilities. Fernando Cortez, who was more distinguished on account of the expectations the world entertained of his future conduct, than by the great services he had already performed, was unanimously fixed upon to carry this plan into execution. According to the representation given of him by his adherents, it appears that he had such an uncommon strength of constitution, that he was able to undergo the greatest fatigues: that he possessed the talent of eloquence in an eminent degree; a sagacity which foresaw every thing; a presence of mind not to be overcome by the most unexpected events: that he was fruitful in expedients; that he knew how to reduce those to subjection who refused to listen to terms of accommodation; that his constancy was such, that he never receded from the point in view; and that he had that enthusiastic love of glory, which has ever been considered as the leading qualification in a hero. This advantageous idea has long prevailed among the generality of people whose judgments are, and must ever be regulated by the sole standard of success. But since philosophy has thrown a new light upon history, it is become a matter of doubt whether the faults of Cortez did not overbalance his great qualities.

BE this however as it may, this man, who was afterwards so celebrated, was no sooner invested by Velasquez with the command of the most important expedition that had hitherto been undertaken to the new world; than he found himself on an eminence, which presented the prospects of fame and fortune in all their charms. Having surmounted the obstacles which jealousy and enmity threw in his way, he set sail on the 10th of February 1519. His forces consisted of five hundred and eight soldiers, a hundred and nine sailors with their proper officers; some horses, and a small train of artillery.

This

This armament, inconsiderable as it was, was not equipped by government, which only lent the sanction of its name to the attempts that were made to discover new countries and form new settlements. They were all carried on at the expence of private persons, who were ruined if they failed in their enterprizes; while their success enlarged the dominion of the mother-country. In the course of these early expeditions, the state did not form any plan, advance any money, or raise any troops. The love of gold, and the spirit of chivalry which still prevailed, were the only incitements to industry and activity. Their influence, however, was so powerful, that not only the common people, but great numbers of distinguished rank flew with impatience to mix with savages in the torrid zone, where the climate is frequently unwholesome. There was perhaps at that time no people upon earth besides the Spaniards, so frugal, so much inured to fatigue, or so accustomed to the intemperature of a hot climate, as to be able to endure so many hardships.

Cortez, who was remarkable for these qualities, in his way attacked the Indians at Tabasco, defeated them in several engagements, granted them peace, entered into an alliance with them, and brought away several of their women, who were very glad to follow him. This readiness of theirs may be accounted for very naturally.

In America the men were in general addicted to that shameful kind of debauchery which shocks nature, and perverts animal instinct. This depravity has been attributed by some to natural weakness, which, however, should rather seem to be contrary than incentive to it. It may rather be ascribed to the heat of the climate; the contempt the men have for the softer sex; the little pleasure that can be experienced in the arms of a woman harassed with labour; the inconstancy of taste; the caprice which

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incites us in every particular to enjoyments that are least common; and to a certain pursuit after pleasure, more easy to be conceived, than explained with decency. Besides, have not those hunting parties, in which the men are frequently absent from the women for two months, contributed to familiarize men more with each other? This vice is therefore in these countries nothing more than the consequence of an universal and violent passion, which even in civilized countries, tramples upon honour, virtue, decency, probity, the ties of consanguinity, and patriotic sentiment: besides that there are some actions to which civilized people have with reason attached moral ideas, that never have entered into the minds of savages.

However this may be, the arrival of the Europeans raised new ideas in the American women. They threw themselves without reserve into the arms of these libidinous strangers, who had inured themselves to cruelty, and whose avaricious hands were drenched in blood. While the unfortunate remains of these savage nations were endeavouring to separate themselves from the sword that pursued them, by immense tracts of deserts, their women who had been hitherto too much neglected, boldly trampling on the carcases of their children and of their murdered husbands, went to seek their destroyers even in their camp, in order to entice them to share the ardent transports with which they were devoured. This fury of the American women in favour of the Spaniards, may be reckoned among the causes that contributed to the conquest of the new world. These women usually served them as guides, frequently procured them subsistence, and sometimes betrayed conspiracies to them.

The most celebrated of these women was named Marina. Though she was the daughter of a pretty powerful Cacique, she had been reduced by some singular events, to a state of slavery among the Mexicans from her

her earliest infancy. She had been brought by fresh incidents to Tabasco before the arrival of the Spaniards. Struck with her figure and her charms, they soon distinguished her from the rest. Their general surrendered his heart to her, and at the same time excited a warm passion in her breast. In the midst of amorous embraces she soon learnt the Spanish language. Cortez on his part soon discovered the intelligent mind, and resolute character of his mistress; and not only made her his interpreter, but also his adviser. All historians agree that she acted a considerable part in every enterprise against Mexico.

Cortez arrives at Mexico. His engagements with the province of Tlascala.

Report says, that this empire had not then been founded above a century. In order to establish a circumstance of so little credibility, it is necessary we should have other testimony than that of the Spaniards, who had neither the ability, nor the will to examine any thing; and better authority than that of their fanatic priests, who wanted to establish their own superstitions, by abolishing the worship of these people. What should we know of China, if the Portuguese had been able to set it on fire, overthrow or destroy it, as the Brasil? Should we now converse about the antiquity of its books, its laws, and its manners? When some few philosophers have been allowed to penetrate into Mexico, there to find out and clear the ruins of their history, and that these learned men shall neither be monks nor Spaniards; but English or Frenchmen, who will be allowed every liberty, and have all the means of getting at the truth: then perhaps we may learn, whether barbarism has not destroyed the antient records, that might have discovered the traces of it.

Our lights concerning the founders of the empire, are not more certain than those we have with respect to the æra of its foundation. This is another of those facts the knowledge of which we have been deprived of by

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the ignorance of the Spaniards. Their credulous hiſtorians have, indeed, told us in an uncertain and vague manner, that ſome barbarians who formed a national body, iſſuing from the north of this continent, had ſucceeded in ſubduing ſucceſſively ſome ſavages born under a milder ſky, and who either did not live in a ſocial ſtate, or formed only ſmall ſocieties.

All that we can affirm, is, that Montezuma was the ſovereign of Mexico, when the Spaniards landed on the coaſts of that empire. The monarch was ſoon informed of the arrival of theſe ſtrangers. Throughout this vaſt extent of kingdom, couriers were placed at different diſtances, who ſpeedily acquainted the court with every thing that happened in the moſt diſtant provinces. Their diſpatches were made up in pieces of cotton, upon which were delineated the ſeveral circumſtances of the affairs that demanded the attention of government. The figures were intermixed with hieroglyphic characters, which ſupplied what the art of the painter had not been able to expreſs.

It was to be expected that a prince who had been raiſed to the throne by his valour, who had extended his empire by conqueſt, who had numerous and diſciplined armies, would either ſend to attack, or would himſelf fall upon a handful of adventurers, who dared to infeſt his dominions with their rapine. This however was not the caſe. The Spaniards who had always an irreſiſtible turn to the marvellous, endeavoured to explain, by having recourſe to a miracle, a conduct ſo evidently oppoſite to the character of the monarch, and ſo incompatible with his ſituation. The writers of this ſuperſtitious nation have not ſcrupled to declare to the whole univerſe, that a little before the diſcovery of the new world, it had been foretold to the Mexicans, that an invincible people from the eaſt would ſoon come among them, who would in a memorable and terrible manner, avenge the gods irritated by their moſt horrid crimes,

and particularly by that vice which is most repugnant to nature. This fatal prediction alone, they say, fascinated the great understanding of Montezuma. By this imposture, they have imagined that they should gain the double advantage of justifying their usurpations, and making heaven answerable for a part of their cruelties. This absurd fable has for a long time obtained credit among some persons in both hemispheres, and this infatuation is not so surprizing as it might at first be imagined. The reasons of it will be made evident by a few reflections. BOOK VI.

THE earth has ever been subject to revolutions. Besides its diurnal and annual motion from west to east, it may have an insensible one, which though silent as the lapse of time, produces a revolution from north to south; and which the moderns have just begun to discover without pretending however either to mark the æra of its commencement, or to trace its progress by any calculation.

THIS inclination is only a seeming one, if it be owing to the heavens, which by a slow motion proportioned to the magnitude of the orbs they contain, attract them and the sun towards the pole: but it is a real one, if our globe by its natural constitution verges as it were insensibly as to a point, opposite to this secret motion of the heavens: however this may be, by the natural consequence of this inclination, the earth's axis being constantly declining, it may happen, that what we call the oblique sphere may become a right one, and what was a right sphere, may in its turn become an oblique one—that the countries now lying under the equator might formerly have been under the poles, and what is now the frigid zone, may have before been the torrid.

HENCE we may conclude, that this great variation in the position of the whole body of the earth, must produce

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duce many particular alterations on its surface. The ocean, which acts as the instrument of all these smaller changes, following the different inclination of the axis, retires from one tract of land and occupies another, occasioning those inundations or deluges which have successively overflowed the face of the globe, drowned its inhabitants, and every where left visible marks of ruin and devastation, or lasting memorials of their fatal effects in the annals or traditions of mankind.

THE contest which perpetually subsists between the two elements, which, however irreconcilable, are yet inseparable companions; the earth ingulphing the waters in her internal cavities, and the sea encroaching upon, and swallowing up large tracts of land; makes the inhabitants of the globe sensible of the danger of their situation, and alarms them with the prospect of their impending fate. The lively recollection of past, naturally begets a dread of future changes. Hence the universal traditions concerning deluges in the earlier ages, and the expectation of the future conflagration of the world. The violent agitations which have been felt in every part of the globe; earthquakes occasioned by inundations; or volcanos produced by those convulsions, raise and cherish dreadful apprehensions in the minds of men. As this terror is the parent of superstition, it has every where received the sanction of its authority; and it is observed to operate most strongly in countries, such as America, where the vestiges of these revolutions of the globe are most remarkable or most recent.

MAN once possessed with fear, considers a single calamity as the parent of a thousand others. Earth and heaven seem equally to conspire to his ruin: he sees death both above and beneath him; he looks upon events which accidentally happen at the same juncture, as connected in the nature and the constitution of things; and as most of the transactions on this globe, appear under

under the aſpect of ſome conſtellations, the ſtars are accuſed of having a ſhare in every calamity, the cauſe of which is unknown; and the human kind which has ever been bewildered in its inquiries concerning the origin of evil, has been led to ſuppoſe that certain ſimilar ſituations of the planets, however common, have an immediate and neceſſary influence on all revolutions happening at the time, or ſoon after ſucceeding.

POLITICAL events, in particular, on account of their greater importance to mankind, have ever been conſidered as more immediately depending on the motion of the ſtars. Hence thoſe falſe predictions and terrors, which have in all ages kept the world in awe; terrors, the origin and progreſs of which, is entirely owing to the different degrees of ignorance in mankind.

THOUGH Montezuma, as well as many other perſons, might poſſibly have been affected with this diſeaſe of the human mind, there is no circumſtance that can induce us to impute this prevailing weakneſs to him. His political conduct, however, was not the wiſer on this account. Since this prince had been upon the throne, he no longer had diſplayed any of thoſe talents that placed him upon it. Paſſing his life in a ſtate of effeminacy and indolence, he deſpiſed his ſubjects, and oppreſſed his tributaries. His mind was ſo debaſed and corrupted, that even the arrival of the Spaniards could not rouze him into action. He waſted in negociations the time he ſhould have employed in combat, and was deſirous of ſending away laden with preſents, enemies he ought to have deſtroyed. Cortez, to whom this ſupineneſs was very convenient, omitted nothing that might contribute to encourage it, and always treated with him in the moſt friendly terms. He declared, that he was ſent merely with orders to hold a conference with the powerful emperor of Mexico, on the part of the greateſt monarch of the eaſt. Whenever he was preſſed to re-

BOOK IV.

imbark, he always answered that he had never sent away any of his ambassadors without giving him an audience. At length, the deputies finding him inflexible, were obliged, according to their instructions, to have recourse to menaces, and spoke in high terms of the opulence and strength of their country. Cortez then turning to his soldiers, told them: *this is exactly what we were in search of, great dangers, and great wealth.* He had then completed all his preparatives, and gained every information that was necessary. Resolved therefore to conquer or to perish, he set fire to all his ships, and directed his march to the capital of the empire.

IN his way he met with the republic of Tlascala, which had ever been in enmity with the Mexicans, who wanted to make it subject to their empire. Cortez not doubting but that they would favour his projects, demanded permission to pass through their empire, and proposed an alliance, both which were refused for reasons that we never have been acquainted with. The surprizing accounts given of the Spaniards, astonished the inhabitants of Tlascala, but did not dismay them. They fought four or five battles: in one of which the Spanish troops were broken, and in danger of being defeated, had not some dissentions happened in the enemy's army. Cortez was obliged to intrench himself, and the Tlascalans, who wanted nothing but arms to make them victorious, rushed to death, upon his breast-works.

ANOTHER circumstance which contributed not a little to their defeat, was a certain point of honour dictated by the feelings of common humanity, adopted by the Greeks at the siege of Troy, and by some people among the Gauls; and established among several nations. This was the dread and disgrace of suffering the dead or the wounded to be carried off by the enemy. An attention to this point occasioned a continual confusion in their army, and abated the vigour of their attacks.

THE

BOOK VI.

THEIR form of government among these people was very singular, and in many respects at least may be proposed as an excellent model. The country was divided into several districts, over which princes presided with the title of Caziques. They led their subjects into the field, levied taxes, and administered justice: but their laws and edicts were to have the sanction of the senate of Tlascala, in which the supreme authority resided. This body was composed of citizens chosen out of each district by an assembly of the people. The laws and manners of the Tlascalans were extremely severe. Falsehood, filial ingratitude, and the crime against nature, were punished with death. Polygamy was tolerated by law. Their climate led to it, and the government encouraged it.

MILITARY merit here, as in all uncivilized states or such as aspire to conquest, was in the highest esteem. In their warlike expeditions they carried in their quivers two arrows, on which were engraven the figures of two of their antient heroes. They began the engagement by discharging one of these arrows, which it was a point of honour to retrieve. In their towns they wore a dress, which they divested themselves of when they went to battle. They are celebrated for openness and sincerity in their public treaties, and the veneration they paid to old men. Theft, adultery, and drunkenness were held in detestation; and the persons guilty of those crimes were doomed to banishment. No strong liquors were allowed to be drank by any but veterans, exhausted by the fatigues of war.

THE Tlascalans had their pleasure-gardens and their baths. They were fond of dancing, poetry, and theatrical amusements. One of their principal divinities was the goddess of love; who had a magnificent temple, and the whole nation resorted to the celebration of her festivals.

THEIR

BOOK VII.

THEIR country was not of any great extent, nor was it the most fertile spot in this part of the world. Though mountainous it was well cultivated, very populous, and very happy.

SUCH were the people whom the Spaniards disdained to acknowledge of the same species with themselves. One of the qualities of the Tlascalans which excited their contempt the most, was the love of liberty. They fancied that they had no government, because it was not vested in a single person: police, because it differed from that of Madrid; no virtues, because they were not of the same religious persuasion: and no understanding, because they did not adopt the same opinions.

NATIONAL prejudices were, perhaps, never idolized to that degree among any people, as among the Spaniards at that time, and it is the same at this day. By these prejudices all their sentiments were dictated, their judgments influenced, and their characters formed. The glowing and manly genius they derived from nature, made them only more ingenious in inventing sophisms to justify their errors. Never was the perversion of human reason maintained in a more dogmatical, determined, obstinate, and artful manner. Nor was their attachment to their customs less strong than that to their prejudices. They could not allow any people upon earth to be so sensible, intelligent, and virtuous as themselves. This national pride, carried to an excess of infatuation beyond example, would have inclined them to consider Athens in the same contemptuous light as Tlascala. They would have treated the Chinese as brutes, and have every where left marks of outrage, oppression, and devastation.

THIS haughty and imperious turn of mind did not however prevent the Spaniards from making an alliance with the Tlascalans, who furnished them with troops to conduct

conduct their march and support them in their enterprize.

BOOK VI.

With this reinforcement, Cortez advanced towards the capital city, through a fertile country watered by fine rivers, and interspersed with towns, woods, cultivated fields, and gardens. The soil produced a variety of plants unknown in Europe. Birds of the most glittering plumage, and animals of a new species appeared in great abundance. Nature only changed her appearance, by assuming a more agreeable and rich dress. The temperature of the air, and the continual heats which were not insupportable, preserved the earth in constant verdure and fertility. Some trees covered with blossoms, and others with delicious fruits: and the same grain sowing in one field, which was reaping in another.

Cortez advances towards Mexico; manners, religion, government, and riches of the empire at the arrival of the Spaniards.

The Spaniards seemed to be insensible to the beauties of so new a scene. They saw that gold was the common ornament of the houses and temples; that the arms, furniture, and persons of the Mexicans were adorned with the same metal. This alone attracted their notice, like Mammon whom Milton describes as forgetting the divinity in Heaven itself, and having his eyes always fixed upon its golden porches.

Montezuma's wavering disposition, and, perhaps, the fear of committing his former glory, prevented him from falling upon the Spaniards at their arrival; and afterwards from joining the Tlascalans, who were braver than he, hindered him in a word from attacking conquerors who were fatigued with their own victories. He seemed to have no other plan, than to endeavour to divert Cortez from his design of visiting his capital, and at last determined to introduce him into it himself. He had under his command thirty kings or princes, many of whom were in a condition to bring a numerous army into the field. He possessed immense riches, and an absolute power. It is said that his subjects had no small share of understanding,

BOOK VII.

ing, knowledge, industry, and politeness. They were warriors, and had high notions of honour.

HAD the emperor of Mexico known how to avail himself of these advantages, the sceptre could never have been arrested out of his hands. But this prince forgetting what he owed to himself and to his station, did not shew the least instance of courage, or ability, when he might have crushed the Spaniards by the exertion of his whole force, notwithstanding their superiority in discipline and arms, he rather chose to have recourse to perfidy.

WHILE he loaded them with presents, careſſes, and every token of respect at Mexico, he gave orders to attack Vera-Cruz, a colony the Spaniards had established with a view of securing their retreat, and of being furnished with supplies. Cortez acquainted his companions with the news, and told them, "That it was absolutely necessary to surprize these barbarians with 'some extraordinary exploit: that he resolved to seize 'the emperor, and make himself master of his person.' His design being approved, he instantly marched with his officers to Montezuma's palace, and told him he must either follow him, or die. The prince, whose pusillanimity could only be equalled by the rashness of his enemies, resigned himself into their hands. He was obliged to consent to the punishment of the generals, who had acted only in obedience to his orders: and completed his disgrace, by submitting to do homage to the king of Spain.

IN the midst of this success, Cortez received advice that Narvaez was dispatched by the governor of Cuba, with a small army to deprive him of his command. He marched towards his rival, engaged, and took him prisoner. He ordered the vanquished to lay down their arms, but afterwards restored them, and proposed that they should follow him. He gained their affections by

his openness and magnanimity; the army of Narvaez inlisted under his standard: and he returned to Mexico, where he had left two hundred men to guard the emperor. BOOK VI.

COMMOTIONS were excited among the nobility of Mexico, who deeply resented the captivity of their prince; and the indiscreet zeal of the Spaniards having prompted them to disturb a public festival celebrated in honour of the deities of the country, by destroying their altars, and making a massacre of the worshippers and priests, had provoked the people to take up arms. The superstition of the Mexicans was the only mark of barbarism among them: their priests, however, who were a disgrace to humanity, made a most scandalous abuse of that abominable worship, which they had imposed upon the credulity of the people. This government, like all other civilized nations, acknowledged a supreme being, and a future state of rewards and punishments: but these useful doctrines, were disgraced by a mixture of absurdity, which destroyed their credibility.

THE religious system of the Mexicans taught them to expect the final catastrophe of the world, at the conclusion of every century: and that year was distinguished throughout the whole empire, by every mark of grief and consternation. The Mexicans invoked inferior powers in the same manner as other nations have invoked Genii, Camis, Manitous, Angels, and Fetiches. The lowest deities in this class had all their temples, images, employments, and distinct authority assigned them, together with the power of working miracles. They had their holy water to sprinkle the people; and the emperor drank of it. Pilgrimages, processions and donations to the priests were esteemed acts of piety; and they were no strangers to expiations, penances, mortifications, and abstinence. They had some superstitious observances peculiar to themselves. A slave

was

BOOK VI.

was annually chosen, and shut up in the temple; to him they paid adoration, offered incense, invoked him as a deity, and concluded the scene by cutting his throat with great solemnity. Another piece of superstition, of which no traces are to be found in any other country, was this: on certain days the priests made a statue of paste, which they sent to the oven: they placed it upon an altar, where it became a divinity. Upon this day innumerable crouds of people flocked to the temple. The priests cut the statue in pieces, and distributed a portion of it to all the persons in the assembly who ate it, and thought they were sanctified by swallowing their god.

It was certainly more eligible to eat gods than men: and yet the Mexicans sacrificed their prisoners of war in the temple of the god of battles. The priests afterwards ate them, and sent portions to the emperor, and the principal lords of the realm. When peace had lasted some time, they took care to have it insinuated to the emperor, that the gods were perishing with hunger: and war was commenced with no other view than to make prisoners. Such a system of religion was in every view odious and terrible; and all its ceremonies were of a dismal and sanguinary cast. They kept mankind perpetually in awe, were calculated to make the people cruel; and to give the priests an unlimited authority. These barbarous absurdities, though they might justly excite the detestation of the Spaniards, could not justify their attempts to suppress them by the greatest cruelties. They could not justify them in attacking and murthering a people assembled in the principal temple of the capital; or in assassinating the nobles in order to seize upon their possessions.

On his return to Mexico, Cortez found the Spaniards besieged in the place, where he had left them to guard the emperor. It was not without difficulty that he

opened a paſſage to join them; and when he was at their head, he was obliged to ſuſtain many powerful attacks. The Mexicans gave proofs of extraordinary courage. They cheerfully devoted themſelves to certain death. Naked and ill armed, they threw themſelves into the ranks of the Spaniards, with a view of making their arms uſeleſs, or wreſting them out of their hands. Several attempted to enter Cortez's palace by the embraſures, where the cannon were placed: and there was not a man who would not have counted death to procure the deliverance of his country from the tyranny of theſe foreign uſurpers. Cortez having taken poſſeſſion of a temple which was an advantageous poſt, was viewing from a platform the engagement in which the Indians fought deſperately for the recovery of their loſt liberty: when two young Mexican noblemen threw away their arms, and came over to him as deſerters. Placing one knee on the ground in a ſuppliant poſture, they ſeized him, and threw themſelves from the platform, in hopes of making him periſh by dragging him along with them. Cortez diſengaged himſelf from them, and kept his ſtation on the baluſtrade: and the two Mexicans died victims of this noble and uſeful enterprize.

BOOK XI.

THIS and ſome other exploits which ſhowed equal ſpirit, made the Spaniards deſirous of coming to terms of accommodation. Montezuma conſents to become the inſtrument of his people's ſlavery, and appeared upon the rampart to perſuade his ſubjects to retire. Their reſentment convinced him that his reign was at an end, and he was mortally wounded by the ſhower of arrows they diſcharged at him.

THE ſucceſſor to this baſe monarch, was of a haughty and intrepid diſpoſition. He united judgment with readineſs of conception. He knew how to retrieve his affairs, and to defend himſelf in circumſtances of danger. His ſagacity diſcovered to him the difficulty of gaining

any

BOOK VI.

and advantage over an enemy so superior in their weapons, by vigorous attacks, and he thought it the best expedient to reduce them by famine. Cortes no sooner perceived this change of measures, than he thought of securing a retreat into the country of Tlascala.

The execution of this project required great dispatch, impenetrable secrecy, and well concerted measures. The march was begun in the middle of the night, the army was silently filing off along a bank, when it was found that its motions had been observed with a spirit of disguise, of which they were thought incapable; his rear guard was attacked by a numerous body, and the flanks by canoes distributed on each side of the causeway. If the Mexicans, who had a greater number of troops than they could bring into action, had taken the precaution to place a part of them at the extremity of this causeway, or even to break it, all the Spaniards would inevitably have perished in this bloody engagement. Fortunately for them the enemy knew not how to avail himself of all his advantages, and they at length reached the borders of the lake, after having undergone several dangers and fatigues. The confusion they were in still exposed them to a total defeat, when they were relieved from this danger, by a fresh error of the enemy.

No sooner had the morning discovered to the Mexicans the field of battle of which they were masters, than they perceived among the slain, two of Montezuma's sons, whom the Spaniards were carrying off with some other prisoners. This sight chilled them with horror. The idea of having massacred the children after having sacrificed the father, was too strong for men enfeebled and enervated by a habit of blind obedience, to be able to bear. They were afraid of adding impiety to regicide; and employed in idle funeral rites, the time they owed to the preservation of their country.

During

DURING this interval, the beaten army which had loſt two hundred Spaniards, a thouſand Tlaſcalans, the greater part of their artillery, and which had ſcarce a ſoldier remaining that was not wounded, was reſuming its march. The enemy ſoon purſued, haraſſed, and at length ſurrounded them in the valley of Otumba. The cannonade, and the firing of the ſmall arms, the pikes and ſwords did not prevent the Indians, all naked as they were, from advancing, and charging their enemies with great violence. Courage was juſt upon the point of yielding to numbers, when Cortez decided the fortune of the day. He had been informed, that in this part of the new world, the fate of the battle depended upon the royal ſtandard. Theſe colours, the form of which was remarkable, and which were never brought into the field but on the moſt important occaſions, were at no great diſtance from him. He immediately ruſhed forward with the braveſt of his companions, to take it from the enemy. One of them ſeized and carried it into the Spaniſh ranks. The Mexicans immediately loſt all courage; and throwing down their arms, betook themſelves to flight. Cortez purſued his march, and arrived in the country of Tlaſcala without oppoſition.

CORTEZ did not relinquiſh either the deſign, or the hopes of ſubduing the empire of Mexico, but he adopted a new plan; and propoſed to make one part of the inhabitants aſſiſt him in the reduction of the other. The form of government in Mexico, the diſpoſition of the people, and its ſituation, favoured his project, and facilitated the execution of it.

THE empire was elective, and certain princes or caziques were the electors. They uſually choſe one of their own body. He was obliged to take an oath, that ſo long as he filled the throne, the rains ſhould fall in due ſeaſon, the rivers cauſe no inundations, the fields be

BOOK VI.

exempt from ſterility, and that mankind ſhould not be deſtroyed by the malignant effects of an infectious air. This cuſtom may have ſome reference to a theocratical government, the traces of which are ſtill to be found among almoſt all the nations in the world. It might likewiſe probably be the intention of this whimſical oath to intimate to the new ſovereign, that, as the misfortunes of a ſtate almoſt always ariſe from wrong meaſures of adminiſtration, his government ought to be conducted with ſuch moderation and wiſdom, that public calamities might never be conſidered as the conſequences of his imprudence, or as the juſt puniſhment of his licentiouſneſs. According to the admirable tenor of their laws, merit was the only title to the crown: but ſuperſtition gave the prieſts a conſiderable influence in their elections. On his acceſſion to the throne, the emperor was obliged to make war, and to offer the priſoners to the Gods. This prince though elective, had an abſolute authority, as there were no written laws, and he was at liberty to make what alterations he pleaſed in the old cuſtoms. Almoſt all the forms of juſtice and ceremonies of the court had the ſanction of religion. The ſame crimes that are puniſhed in all other places, were puniſhable by the laws, but the criminals were often ſaved by the interpoſition of the prieſts. There were two laws which had a tendency to deſtroy the innocent, and to make the Mexicans bend under the double yoke of tyranny and ſuperſtition. By theſe laws, perſons offending againſt the ſanctity of religion, or the majeſty of the prince, were condemned to death. It is eaſy to diſcern how much laws of ſo little preciſion might afford opportunities of gratifying private revenge, or of promoting the intereſted views of prieſts and courtiers. The ſteps by which private men obtained the rank of nobility, and the nobility roſe to poſts of honour, were bravery, piety, and perſeverance. In the temples a more

painful noviciate was prescribed than in the army; and the nobles who had undergone such hardships to obtain their distinctions, submitted to the meanest employments in the palace of the emperors. BOOK VI.

AMONG the great numbers of vassals in Mexico, Cortez concluded there might be some who would be ready to shake off the yoke, and join the Spaniards. He had remarked that the Mexicans were held in great detestation by the petty states that were subject to the empire, and that the emperors exercised their authority with extreme severity. He had likewise observed that the provinces in general disliked the religion of the metropolis, and that even in Mexico, the nobility and persons of fortune, whose intercourse with the people had abated the force of their prejudices, and softened their manners, had lost their attachment to this mode of religion: and that many of the nobility disliked the performance of the low services exacted of them by their masters.

HAVING received some small reinforcements from the Spaniards, obtained some troops from the republic of Tlascala, and formed some new alliances, Cortez bent his course once more towards the capital of the empire.

MEXICO was situated on an island in the middle of a large lake. If the Spaniards may be credited, this city contained twenty thousand houses; the inhabitants were very numerous, and the buildings magnificent. The emperor's palace, which was built with marble and jasper, was of a prodigious extent. Its fountains, baths, ornaments, and statues representing animals, excited universal admiration. It was full of pictures, which though made of feathers, were finely coloured, brilliant, and natural. Most of the caciques, as well as the emperor had their menageries, replenished with all the animals of the new continent; and apartments for the ar-

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rangement of natural curioſities. Their gardens were filled with plants of every ſpecies. The beauties of nature, and whatever is rare or glittering in her productions, muſt be an object of luxury to an opulent people, where nature is beautiful, and the arts are not brought to perfection. The temples which were numerous, were in general magnificent; but polluted with blood, and hung round with the heads of the unhappy victims who had been ſacrificed. One of the greateſt beauties of Mexico, was a ſquare to which more than a hundred thouſand perſons uſually reſorted: it was covered with tents, and ſhops, where the merchants expoſed to view all the riches of the country, and the manufactures of the Mexicans: birds of every colour, brilliant ſhells, a profuſion of flowers, together with pieces of workmanſhip in gold and enamel, gave theſe markets a more ſplendid and beautiful appearance to the eye, than is to be met with in the richeſt fair of Europe. One hundred thouſand canoes were conſtantly paſſing and repaſſing between the city, and the borders of the lake; which were ornamented with more than fifty cities, and a multitude of towns and villages. Upon this lake were three cauſeways of conſiderable length, which were maſter pieces of Mexican induſtry. When we conſider that theſe people were of no very remote antiquity, that they had no intercourſe with any enlightened nation, no iron, writing, or any of thoſe arts which aſſiſt us in the knowledge and exerciſe of others; and that they lived in a climate where the invention of man is not excited by neceſſity; we muſt acknowledge them to be one of the moſt ingenious people in the world.

The falſity of this pompous deſcription may eaſily be made evident to every man's capacity. It is not, however, merely by contraſting the preſent ſtate of Mexico, with that in which its conquerors pretend to have found it, that this point can be decided. The ravages occaſioned

ſioned by deſtructive tyranny, and a long continued ſeries of oppreſſions are ſufficiently known. But if we compare the different accounts of the Spaniards, we ſhall then be able to judge of the credibility they deſerve. When they wiſh to imprint a great idea of their courage and ſucceſs, they repreſent the empire they have ſubdued, as a formidable, rich, and civilized kingdom. If on the contrary they mean to juſtify their cruelties, no people were ever ſo baſe, ſo corrupt, ſo barbarous, as theſe.

Were it poſſible to form a proper judgment of a people that exiſts no more, it might poſſibly be ſaid that the Mexicans were ſubject to a deſpotiſm, as cruel as it was ill concerted; that they rather conceived the neceſſity of having regular tribunals of juſtice, than they could feel the advantages of them; that the ſmall number of arts they followed, were as defective in execution, as they were rich in materials; that they were farther diſtant from a ſavage, than they were near to a civilized people; and that fear, the chief ſpring of all arbitrary governments, ſerved them inſtead of morality, and principles.

Cortez began, by gaining over to his intereſt the caciques who reigned in the cities that were ſituated on the borders of the lake. Some of them joined the Spaniards with their forces; others were reduced to ſubmiſſion. Cortez took poſſeſſion of the three avenues that lead to Mexico. He wanted to make himſelf maſter of the navigation of the lake, he built ſome brigantines, on board of which he put part of his artillery: and, in this poſture, waited till the want of proviſions ſhould produce a ſurrender of the empire of the new world.

Guatimozin exerted his utmoſt efforts to relieve the capital. His ſubjects fought with as much fury as ever. The Spaniards, however, maintained their poſts, and puſhed their attacks into the heart of the city. The

BOOK VI.

Mexicans fearing it would be taken, and perceiving that there muſt ſoon be a total want of proviſions, turned their attention to the preſervation of their emperor. He conſented to attempt his eſcape, with a view of maintaining the war in the northern part of his dominions. To facilitate his retreat, a party of his ſoldiers generouſly devoted themſelves to death, by diverting the attention of the beſiegers: but the canoe, in which this generous and unfortunate monarch had embarked, was taken by a brigantine. An officer of the Spaniſh revenue ſuſpecting that he had treaſures concealed, ordered him to be extended upon red hot coals, to extort a confeſſion. His favourite who underwent the ſame torture, complaining to him of his ſufferings, the emperor ſaid, *Am I upon a bed of roſes?* An expreſſion equal to any of thoſe which hiſtory has recorded as worthy the admiration of mankind. An expreſſion which the Mexicans ſhall one day repeat to their children, when the period ſhall arrive, in which the Spaniards ſhall expiate the cruelties they have exerciſed, and that race of deſtroyers be plunged into the ſea or drowned in their own blood. Theſe people may perhaps preſerve the actions of their martyrs, and the hiſtory of their perſecutions. In theſe it will be recorded, that Guatimozin was dragged half dead from a bed of fire, and that three years after he was publicly hanged under pretence of his having conſpired againſt his oppreſſors and executioners.

The Spaniards being maſters of Mexico, extend its boundaries.

In arbitrary ſtates, the fall of the prince, and the reduction of the capital, uſually bring on the conqueſt and ſubjection of the whole realm. The people cannot preſerve their attachment to an oppreſſive government, or to a tyrant who thinks to make himſelf more reſpectable, by never appearing in public. Accuſtomed to acknowledge no right but that of force, they never fail to ſubmit to the ſtrongeſt party. This was the caſe in the revolution of Mexico. All the provinces ſubmitted without

without reſiſtance, to the victor, who gave the name of new Spain to this empire, the frontiers of which were ſtill extended, though already five hundred leagues long, and two hundred in breadth.

THE firſt ſtep the conquerors took, was to add to their acquiſitions the vaſt tract which lies to the ſouthward, and extends from Guatimala to the gulph of Darien. This acceſſion of territory, though without much loſs of time, blood, or treaſure, was of little importance. The provinces of which it conſiſts, are hardly known; and inhabited only by a few Spaniards, who in general are poor, and have by their tyranny, compelled the Indians to retire into the mountains, and impenetrable foreſts. Among all theſe ſavages, the Moſquitos are the only people who retain the form of a nation. Having for a long time ſtruggled to preſerve the fertile plains they inhabited in the country of Nicaragua, they took refuge among the barren rocks at the cape of Gracias à Dios. Defended on the inland ſide by impaſſable moraſſes, and on that of the ſea by dangerous ſhoals, they defy the rancour of their enemies. Their intercourſe with the Engliſh and French pirates, whom they have frequently accompanied in the moſt dangerous enterprizes, has inflamed their hatred towards their perſecutors, increaſed their natural audacity, and taught them the uſe of fire-arms: but their numbers which were never conſiderable, have been continually on the decline. As they do not at preſent exceed two thouſand men, their weakneſs puts it out of their power to give the leaſt alarm.

THE increaſed extent of New Spain towards the north, is more conſiderable, and may prove of much more importance. We have hitherto been ſpeaking only of New Mexico, which was diſcovered in 1553, and conquered in the beginning of the laſt century; it revolted about the middle of it, and was ſoon after reduced to ſubjection. All that is known concerning

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this vaſt province is, that the Spaniards have ſettled a few wandering ſavages there, introduced a little agriculture, worked ſome rich mines imperfectly, and eſtabliſhed a ſettlement called Santa-Fé. The conqueſt of this inland territory, would have been productive of much greater advantages to the maritime parts, if, during the hundred years ſince it was undertaken, it had been proſecuted with the attention it deſerved.

THE old empire of Mexico extended its boundaries almoſt to the entrance of the Vermilion bay. From theſe limits, to the place where the continent is united to California, is a gulf almoſt twenty degrees in length. Its breadth is ſometimes ſixty, and ſometimes fifty leagues, ſeldom leſs than forty. In this extent there are many ſand banks, and a conſiderable number of iſlands, and the coaſt is inhabited by ſeveral ſavage nations, which are for the moſt part enemies. The Spaniards have here formed certain ſcattered colonies, to which, agreeably to their cuſtom, they have given the name of provinces. Their miſſionaries have carried their diſcoveries further, and flattered themſelves that they ſhould procure to their country greater riches than it had ever acquired from its moſt celebrated poſſeſſions.

SEVERAL cauſes have been for a long time combined, to render their labours ineffectual. No ſooner had they got together, and civilized ſome of the ſavages, than they were carried off to be employed in the mines. This barbarity ruined the riſing ſettlements, and prevented other Indians from incorporating with them. The Spaniards, too remote from the inſpection of government, gave themſelves up to the moſt atrocious and unheard of enormities. Quickſilver, ſtuffs, and other merchandize were carried thither from Vera-Cruz on mules through a difficult and dangerous way of ſix or ſeven hundred leagues; a circumſtance, which at the end of the journey,

journey, added so considerably to their value, that most of the persons concerned in the working of the mines, were obliged to abandon them, from the impossibility of supporting them. At last certain clans of savages, stimulated either by ferocity, or the well-grounded apprehension of being one day enslaved, unexpectedly fell on the workmen, who still obstinately persisted in struggling against so many difficulties.

It was hoped that a new arrangement of things would take place, when in 1746, by order of government, the jesuit Ferdinand Consag had sailed through the whole gulf of California. This voyage executed with the utmost care and with great judgment, instructed the Spaniards in every thing that was of importance for them to know. They became acquainted with the coasts of this continent, the harbours which nature has opened there, the sandy and dry places which are not susceptible of cultivation, and the rivers, which by the fertility they produce on their banks, point out the proper spot for the formation of colonies. Nothing in future could hinder the vessels from Acapulco from entering into its sea, carrying at a moderate expence, into the bordering provinces, missionaries, soldiers, miners, provisions, merchandize, and every thing necessary to colonies, and returning laden with metals. The imagination of the Spaniards went still further. They already saw the whole continent subdued as far as new Mexico, and a new empire rise, as extensive, and as opulent as the old, and which would transcend the former in the mildness and salubrity of its climate.

These hopes were not chimerical; but in order to have them realized, the natives of the country must either be gained over by humane actions, or subdued by force of arms. The destroyers of the new world could never form an idea of employing the first of these expedients,

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expedients, and they were not in a condition of putting the ſecond in practice before the year 1768.

THEIR endeavours have not been crowned with complete ſucceſs. They advanced with conſiderable rapidity in Mexico, and in every region which was populous, or whoſe inhabitants were collected in a ſmall compaſs. Countries leſs inhabited were not ſo ſoon reduced, becauſe there was a neceſſity of finding men to ſubdue, and becauſe they fled into the foreſts whenever the Spaniards appeared, and did not become viſible till want of ſubſiſtence had obliged them to retire. Thus it was not till after three years hunting, toil, and cruelty, that they compleated the conqueſt of the Seris, Platos, and Sobaiporis. Their neighbours, the Papagos, Nijoras, and Sobas, deſpairing of being able to defend their liberty, ſubmitted to the yoke without reſiſtance. Troops were ſtill employed in 1771 in purſuing the Apaches, the moſt warlike of theſe nations, and who had the greateſt paſſion for independency. They deſpair of ſubjecting them, but they labour to exterminate them, at leaſt to drive them at a diſtance from New Biſcay, which would be expoſed to their incurſions.

THE wealth which they have lately found in the provinces of Sonora and Cinaloa, which form what is now called the New Andaluſia, appears to tranſcend every thing that has been ſeen in any other place. There is a gold mine fourteen leagues in extent, which at the depth of two feet offers immenſe treaſures. Of the ſilver mines, one produces eight marks per quintal of ore, and the ſtones which they draw out of the other are almoſt entirely compoſed of virgin ſilver. If the court of Madrid, which has juſt publiſhed theſe diſcoveries, hath not been deceived; if the mines which are often near the ſurface of the earth, and have an inconſiderable depth, do not preſent them with deluſive hopes, the unhappy ſavages, who have very lately been ſubjected, will be all buried alive in the bowels of the earth.

NEW

Climate, soil, and population of Mexico.

NEW Spain is almoſt entirely ſituated within the torrid zone. The air is exceſſively warm, moiſt, and unwholeſome on the coaſts of the north ſea. Theſe defects of the climate are infinitely leſs felt on the coaſts of the ſouth ſea, and hardly at all in the inland country, which is interſected by a chain of mountains, that are ſuppoſed to be a continuation of the Cordeleras.

THE quality of the ſoil has the ſame variations. The eaſtern part is low, marſhy, overflowed in the rainy ſeaſons, covered with impenetrable foreſts, and totally uncultivated. It may be imagined, that if the Spaniards leave it in this ſtate of deſolation, it is becauſe they judged that a deſert and deſtructive frontier would furniſh a better defence againſt an enemy's fleet, than they could ever expect either from fortifications and troops, the maintenance of which would coſt immenſe ſums; or from the natives of the country, who are effeminate and little attached to the government of their conquerors. The weſtern territory is higher, of a better quality, on which there are many fields, and ſeveral houſes built. In the low lands there are diſtricts, on which nature has been very liberal; but, like every country ſituated under the tropicks, they abound more in fruits than in corn.

THE population of this vaſt empire is not leſs various than its ſoil. Its moſt diſtinguiſhed inhabitants are the Spaniards, ſent hither by the court, to fill the places of government. They are obliged, like thoſe in the metropolis, who aſpire to any eccleſiaſtical, civil, or military employments, to prove that they have been neither hereticks, Jews, Mohammedans, nor perſons who have had any conteſts with the inquiſition in their family, for four generations. Merchants who would go to Mexico, as well as to other parts of America, without becoming colonists, are bound by the ſame forms. They alſo oblige them to ſwear that they have three hundred palms

of

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of merchandiſe, their own property, in the fleet in which they embark, and that they will not carry their wives with them. On theſe abſurd conditions, they become the principal agents of the European commerce with the Indies. Though their charter is only to continue three years, and a little longer for countries more remote, it is of great importance. To them alone belongs the right of ſelling, as commiſſioners, the major part of the cargo. If theſe laws were obſerved, the merchants ſtationed in the new world, would be confined to diſpoſe of what they have received on their own account.

THE predilection which adminiſtration has for Spaniards born in Europe, has reduced the Spaniſh Creoles to acquieſce in ſubordinate ſtations. The deſcendants of the companions of Cortez, and of thoſe who came after them, being conſtantly excluded from all places of honour or of adminiſtration, that were any way conſiderable, have ſeen the gradual decay of the power that ſupported their fathers. Accuſtomed to that unjuſt contempt with which they have been treated, they have at laſt become really contemptible. They have totally loſt in the vices which originate from indolence, from the heat of the climate, and from a ſuperfluous enjoyment of all things, that firmneſs, and that ſort of pride which hath ever characterized their nation. A barbarous luxury, ſhameful pleaſures, and romantic intrigues have enervated all the vigour of their minds, and ſuperſtition hath completed the ruin of their virtues. Blindly devoted to prieſts too ignorant to enlighten them by their inſtructions, too depraved to edify them by their example, and too mercenary to attend to both theſe duties of their function, they have no attachment to any part of religion, but that which enfeebles the mind, and have neglected what might have contributed to rectify their morals.

THE

THE Meſtees, who conſtitute the third order of citizens, are held in ſtill greater contempt. It is well known that the court of Madrid, in order to repleniſh a part of that dreadful vacancy, which the avarice and cruelty of the conquerors had occaſioned, and to regain the confidence of thoſe who had eſcaped their fury, encouraged as much as poſſible the marriage of Spaniards with Indian women. Theſe alliances, which became pretty common throughout all America, were particularly frequent in Mexico, where the women had more underſtanding, and were more agreeable than in other places. The Creoles degraded this mixt progeny, as much as they had been degraded by the Europeans. Their condition, equivocal at firſt, in proceſs of time at laſt was fixed between the whites and the blacks.

THESE blacks are not very numerous in new Spain. As the natives are more intelligent, more robuſt, and more induſtrious than thoſe of the other colonies, they have hardly introduced any Africans except ſuch as were required either to indulge the caprice, or perform the domeſtic ſervice of rich people. Theſe ſlaves, who are much beloved by their maſters, on whom they abſolutely depend, who purchaſed them at an extravagant price, and who make them the miniſters of their pleaſures, take advantage of the high favour they enjoy, to oppreſs the Mexicans. They aſſume over theſe men, who are called free, an aſcendant which keeps up an implacable hatred between the two nations. The law has ſtudied to encourage this averſion, by taking effectual meaſures to prevent all connection between them. Negroes are prohibited from having any amorous correſpondence with the Indians; the men, on pain of being mutilated, the women of being ſeverely puniſhed. On all theſe accounts, the Africans, who in other ſettlements are enemies to Europeans, are in the Spaniſh Indies their warm friends.

AUTHO-

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Authority has no need of this support, at least in Mexico, where population is no longer what it was formerly. The first historians, and those who copied them, have recorded, that the Spaniards found there ten millions of souls. This was the exaggerated account of conquerors to exalt the magnificence of their triumph: and it was adopted without examination, with so much the more readiness, as it rendered them more odious. We need only follow with attention those ruffians who at first desolated these fine countries, in order to be convinced that they had not succeeded in multiplying men at Mexico and the adjacent parts, but by depopulating the center of the empire; and that the provinces which are remote from the capital, differed in nothing from the other deserts of South and North America. It is making a great concession to allow that the population of Mexico has only been exaggerated one half: for it does not now exceed one million.

It is generally believed that the first conquerors massacred the Indians out of wantonness, and that even the priests incited them to acts of ferocity. Undoubtedly these inhuman soldiers frequently shed blood without even an apparent motive; and certainly their fanatic missionaries did not oppose these barbarities as they ought to have done. This was not however the real cause, the principal source of the depopulation of Mexico; it was the work of a slow tyranny, and of that avarice which exacted from its wretched inhabitants more rigorous toil, than was compatible with their constitution and the climate.

This oppression was coeval with conquest. All the lands were divided between the crown, the companions of Cortez, and the grandees or ministers who were most in favour at the court of Spain. The Mexicans, appointed to the royal domains, were destined to public labours, which originally were considerable. The lot

of

of those who were employed on the estates of individuals, was still more wretched. All groaned under a dreadful yoke; they were fed very indifferently; they had no wages given them, and services were required of them, under which the most robust men would have sunk. Their misfortunes excited the compassion of Bartholemew de las Casas.

This man, so famous in the annals of the new world, had accompanied his father in the first voyage of Columbus. The mildness and simplicity of the Indians struck him to such a degree, that he made himself an ecclesiastic, in order to devote his labours to their conversion. But this soon became the least of his attentions. As he was more a *man* than a *priest*, he felt more for the cruelties exercised against them, than for their superstitions. He was continually hurrying from one hemisphere to the other, in order to comfort the people to whom he was attached, or to soften their tyrants. This conduct which made him be idolized by the one, and dreaded by the other, had not the success he expected. The hope of keeping them in awe, by a character revered among the Spaniards, determined him to accept the bishoprick of Chiapa in Mexico. When he was convinced that this dignity was an insufficient barrier against that avarice and cruelty which he endeavoured to check, he abdicated it. It was then, that this courageous, firm, disinterested man cited his country to the tribunal of the whole universe. In his treatise of the tyranny of the Spaniards in America, he accuses them of having destroyed fifteen millions of Indians. They ventured to find fault with the acrimony of his style, but no one convicted him of exaggeration. His writings, which indicate the amiable turn of his disposition, and the sublimity of his sentiments, have branded his barbarous countrymen with a disgrace, which time hath not, and never will efface.

The

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THE court of Madrid awakened by the repreſentations of the virtuous Las Caſas, and by the indignation of the whole world, became ſenſible at laſt that the tyranny it permitted, was repugnant to religion, to humanity, and to policy, and reſolved to break the chains of the Mexicans. Their liberty was now only conſtrained by the ſole condition, that they ſhould not quit the territory where they were ſettled. This precaution owed its origin to the fear that was entertained of their going to join the wandering ſavages to the north and ſouth of the empire.

WITH their liberty they ought to have reſtored them their lands; but this was not done. This injuſtice obliged them to work ſolely for their oppreſſors. It was only decreed, that the Spaniards, in whoſe ſervice they laboured, ſhould ſtipulate to keep them well, and pay them to the amount of 120 livres [y] a year.

FROM theſe profits the tribute impoſed by government was ſubſtracted, together with an hundred ſous [z] for an inſtitution, which it is aſtoniſhing the conquerors ſhould have thought of eſtabliſhing. This was a fund ſet apart in each community, and appropriated to the relief of ſuch Indians as were decayed or indiſpoſed, and to their ſupport under private or public calamities.

THE diſtribution of this fund was committed to their caciques. Theſe were not the deſcendents of thoſe whom they found in the country at the time of the conqueſt. The Spaniards choſe them from among thoſe Indians who appeared the moſt attached to their intereſts, and were under no apprehenſions at making their dignities hereditary. Their authority was limited to ſupporting the police in their diſtrict, which was extended eight or ten leagues, to the retaining the tribute of thoſe Indians who toiled on their ſoppant, that of the others being ſtopt by the maſters to whom they were ſubjected; and to the preventing their flight by

[y] About 5l. 5s.

[z] 4s. 4d. ½

keeping

keeping them always under their inspection, and the not suffering them to contract any engagement without their consent. As a reward of their services, these magistrates obtained from government a property. They were permitted to take out of the common stock five sous[a] annually for every Indian under their jurisdiction. At last they were empowered to get their fields cultivated by such young men as were not yet subject to the poll-tax; and to employ girls till the time of their marriage in such occupations as were adapted to their sex, without allowing them any salary except their maintenance.

These institutions, which totally changed the condition of the Indians of Mexico, irritated the Spaniards to a degree not to be conceived. Their pride would not suffer them to consider the Americans as free men, nor would their avarice permit them to pay for labour which hitherto had cost them nothing. They employed successively, or in combination, craft, remonstrances, and violence, to effect the subversion of an arrangement which so strongly contradicted their warmest passions; but their efforts were ineffectual. Las Casas had raised up for the beloved Indians, protectors who seconded his design with zeal and warmth. The Mexicans themselves finding support, cited their oppressors before the tribunals, and even before those that were either made or composed by the court. They carried their resolution so far, as even unanimously to refuse to work for those who had treated any of their countrymen with injustice. This mutual agreement, more than any other circumstance, gave solidity to the regulations which had been decreed. The order prescribed by the laws, was gradually established. There was no longer any regular system of oppression, but merely several of those particular vexations, which a vanquished people, who have

[a] Two pence halfpenny.

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lost their government, can hardly avoid from those who have subdued it.

These clandestine acts of injustice did not prevent the Mexicans from recovering from time to time, certain detached portions of that immense territory of which their fathers had been despoiled. They purchased them of the royal domain, or of the great proprietors. It was not their labour which enabled them to make these acquisitions: for this they were indebted to the felicity of having discovered, some of them, mines, others, treasures, which had been concealed at the time of the conquest. The greatest number derived their resources from the priests and monks, to whom they were indebted for existence.

Even those, who experienced a fortunate propitiousness, procured for themselves by the sole produce of their property more conveniencies than they had enjoyed before they underwent a foreign yoke. We should be very much deceived if we should judge of the prosperity of the inhabitants of Mexico, by what has been said of its empire, its court, its capital, and the governors of its provinces. Despotism had there produced those fatal effects, which it produces everywhere. The whole state was sacrificed to the caprice, pleasure, and magnificence of a small number of persons.

This government drew considerable advantages from the mines which it caused to be worked, and still greater from those, which were in the hands of individuals. The last works greatly added to its revenues. Those who followed agriculture, at the time of harvest, paid in kind a third of all the produce of the lands, whether they belonged to them as their own property, or whether they were only the farmers of them. Hunters, fishermen, potters, and all mechanics paid the same proportion of their industry every month. Even the poor were taxed at certain fixed contributions, which their labour or their alms might put them in a condition to pay.

THE

The common people among the Mexicans went naked. The emperor himself and the nobles, were only covered with a kind of mantle, composed of a piece of square cotton tied on the right shoulder. Instead of shoes they wore sandals. Women among the common people for their whole apparel had only a kind of shift with half sleeves, which fell on their knees, and was open on the bosom. Common people were prohibited from raising their houses above the ground floor, and from having either doors or windows. The greatest part were built of earth, and covered with boards, and had no greater share of convenience than elegance. The inside was covered with mats, and lighted with torches of fir wood, though they had wax and oil in abundance. Their beds were made of plain straw and coverlets of cotton. For their seats, they had only little sacks of palm leaves; but it was their custom to sit on the ground, and even to eat in that posture. Their food, of which animal meat was seldom a part, had little variety and little delicacy. Their most ordinary aliment was maize made into a paste, or prepared with various seasonings. With these they joined the common herbs found in the field, which were not too hard, or had not a bad smell. Cocoa diluted in warm water, or seasoned with honey or pimento, was their best beverage. They had besides these, other liquors, but not of an intoxicating quality: for all strong drinks were so rigidly prohibited, that no one could use them without a particular permission from government, which was granted to the sick and aged. It was on certain solemnities alone, and in public feasts, that each person had a quantity allowed in proportion to his age. Drunkenness was considered as the most scandalous of vices. Those who were found in this situation were shaved in public, and their houses were pulled down. If they exercised any public office, they

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were deprived of it, and declared incapable of ever holding it again.

It is a matter of aſtoniſhment, that men who had ſo few wants, ſhould ever ſubmit to the yoke of ſlavery. That the citizen accuſtomed to the indulgencies and conveniencies of life, ſhould purchaſe them every day with the ſacrifice of his liberty, is not the leaſt ſurprizing; but that people to whom nature offers more felicity than the ſocial chain that unites them ſhould calmly ſubmit to ſlavery, and never think, that there is frequently but a river to croſs in order to be free, this would be for ever inconceivable, if we did not know how much habit and ſuperſtition render men inſenſible to the feelings of nature.

The Mexicans are now leſs unhappy. Our fruits, our corn, and our cattle, have rendered their food more wholeſome, agreeable, and abundant. Their houſes are better built, better diſpoſed, and better furniſhed. Shoes, drawers, ſhirts, a garment of wool or cotton, a ruff, and a hat, conſtitute their dreſs. The dignity which they have agreed to annex to theſe enjoyments, has made them better oeconomiſts, and more laborious. This eaſe however is far from univerſal: it is even very inconſiderable in the vicinity of the mines, towns, and great roads, where tyranny ſeldom ſleeps: but we often find it with pleaſure in remote parts, where the Spaniards have not become numerous, and where they have in ſome meaſure become Mexicans.

The inhabitants of the province of Chiapa are diſtinguiſhed beyond all others. They owe their ſuperiority to the advantage of having had Las Caſas for their teacher, who originally prevented them from being oppreſſed. They ſurpaſs their countrymen in ſize, genius, and ſtrength. Their language has a peculiar ſoftneſs and elegance. Their territory, without being a better ſoil than the reſt, is infinitely richer in all ſorts of productions. They are painters, muſicians, and dexterous in all

all arts. They particularly excel in fabricating those works, pictures and ſtuffs of feathers, which have never been imitated elſewhere. Their principal town is called Chiapa dos Indos. It is only inhabited by the natives of the country, who form a community conſiſting of four thouſand families, amongſt which are found many of the Indian nobility. The great river, on which this town is ſituated, is a ſcene on which the inhabitants continually diſplay their dexterity and their courage. They form naval armies with their boats. They engage, attack, and defend themſelves with ſurpriſing agility. They excel no leſs in the chace of bulls, cudgelling, dancing, and all bodily exercises. They build towns and caſtles of wood, which they cover with oil cloth, and which they beſiege in form. In ſhort, theatrical repreſentations conſtitute one of their ordinary amuſements. From theſe particulars we ſee what the Mexicans are capable of, if they had been fortunate enough to have paſſed under the dominion of a conqueror, who had poſſeſſed moderation and good ſenſe enough to relax the chains of their ſervitude inſtead of riveting them.

Productions of Mexico.

The employments of this people are very various. The moſt intelligent, and thoſe who are in eaſy circumſtances, devote themſelves to the manufactures of indiſpenſable neceſſity, which are diſperſed through the whole empire. The moſt beautiful are fabricated among the people of Tlaſcala. Their old capital and the new one, which is called Angelos, are the center of this induſtry. Here they manufacture cloth that is pretty fine, calicoes that have an agreeable appearance, certain light ſilks, good hats, gold lace, embroidery, lace, glaſſes, and a great deal of hardware. The arts muſt neceſſarily have made a greater progreſs in a province which hath been able to preſerve its independence a long time, which the Spaniards thought it prudent to treat with ſome management after the conqueſt, and which

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had always manifested superior penetration; whether owing to its climate or its government. To these advantages is joined that of its situation. All the inhabitants of Mexico, who must necessarily pass over its territory when they go to purchase the European merchandise that is landed at Vera-Cruz, have found it convenient to take up on the road what the fleet did not supply them with, or what was sold too dear.

The care of flocks affords a maintenance to some Mexicans, whom fortune or nature have not called to more distinguished employments. America, at the time it was discovered, had neither hogs, sheep, oxen, horses, nor even any domestic animal. Columbus carried some of these useful animals to San Domingo, from whence they were generally dispersed, and at Mexico more than in any other place. These have multiplied prodigiously. They count their horned cattle by thousands, whose skins are become an object of considerable exportation. The horses are degenerated, but the quality is compensated by the number. Hog's lard is here substituted for butter. Sheep's wool is here dry, coarse and bad, as it is every where between the tropics.

The vine and olive tree have experienced the same degeneracy. The cultivation of them was at first prohibited, with a view of leaving a free market for the commodities of the metropolis. In 1706, permission was given to the Jesuits, and a little afterwards to the marquis Del Valle, a descendent from Cortez, to cultivate them. The experiments have not proved successful. The trials, indeed, that have been made, have not been abandoned; but nobody has solicited the liberty of following an example, which did not flatter them with any great emoluments. Other cultures have been more successful. Cotton, sugar, silk, cocoa, tobacco, and European corn, have all thriven more or less. Labour is encouraged by the happy circumstance which befel the

Spaniards

Spaniards of discovering iron mines, which were entirely unknown to the Mexicans, as also mines of copper that is hard enough to serve for tools of agriculture. All these objects, however, for want of hands or activity, are confined to an interior circulation. There is only the vanilla, indigo, and cochineal, which belong to the trade of Mexico with other nations.

The vanilla is a plant, which like ivy, grows to the trees it meets with, embraces them closely, and raises itself by their aid. Its stem is but very small in diameter, and is not quite round. Though it is very pliable, it is yet pretty hard. Its bark is thin, very adherent, and of a green colour. It is intersected like the vine, with knots which are at the distance of six or seven inches from each other. From these knots issue leaves resembling those of the laurel, but longer, larger, thicker, and more solid. They are of a vivid green colour, their upper surface glossy, their under a little pale. The flowers are blackish.

A small pod about six inches long, and four lines broad, wrinkled, flabby, oily, thick and brittle, may be considered as the fruit of this plant. The inner part of this pod is lined with a pulp that is reddish, aromatic, a little acrid, and full of a black, oily, and balsamic liquor, in which an infinite number of black, shining, and almost imperceptible seeds float.

The season for gathering the pods, begins about the latter end of September, and lasts till the end of December. They are dried in the shade: and when dry and fit for keeping, they are anointed externally with a little oil of cocoa or of calba, to render them supple, to preserve them the better, and to prevent them from becoming too dry and brittle.

This is nearly all that is known of the vanilla, which is particularly appropriated to perfume chocolate; a practice which has passed from the Mexicans to

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the Spaniards, and from them to other nations. That alone is esteemed, which grows in the inaccessible mountains of New Spain. We are equally ignorant how many different species there are of it; which are the most valuable, what is the soil which suits them best, how they are cultivated, and in what manner they are propagated. All these circumstances are known only to the natives of the country. It is pretended that they have only been able to preserve to themselves this source of wealth by taking an oath, that they would never reveal to their tyrants, any thing respecting the cultivation of the vanilla, and would suffer the most cruel tortures rather than be perjured. It is more probable that they owe this advantage to the character of their conquerors, who content with the riches they have acquired, and habituated to an indolent life and to an effeminate ignorance, equally contemn both the curiosities of natural history, and the researches of those who apply themselves to it. Indigo however is better known to them.

Indigo is a kind of plant, whose root is three or four lines thick, and more than a foot long, of a faint smell something like parsley. From this root issues a single stem nearly of the same thickness, about two feet high, straight, hard, almost woody, covered with a bark slightly split, of a grey ash colour towards the bottom, green in the middle, reddish at the extremity, and without any appearance of pith in the inside. The leaves ranged by two and two together around the stalk, are of an oval form, smooth, soft to the touch, furrowed above, of a deep green on the under side, and connected by a very short peduncle. From about one third of the stem to the extremity, there are ears that are loaded with very small flowers from a dozen to fifteen, but destitute of smell. The pistil, which is in the midst

pulp of each flower, changes into a pod, in which the seeds are inclosed.

This plant requires a smooth rich soil, well tilled, and not too dry. The seed of it, which in its figure and colour resembles gun-powder, is sowed in little furrows that are about the breadth of the hough, two or three inches deep, and at a foot's distance from each other, and in as straight a line as possible. Continual attention must be paid to the plucking up of the weeds, which would soon choak the plant. Though it may be sown in all seasons, the spring is commonly preferred. Moisture causes this plant to shoot above the surface in three or four days. It is ripe at the end of two months. When it begins to flower, it is cut with pruning knives; and cut again at the end of every six weeks, if the weather is a little rainy. It lasts about two years, after which term it degenerates; it is then plucked up, and planted afresh.

As this plant soon exhausts the soil, because it does not absorb a sufficient quantity of air and dew to moisten the earth, it is of advantage to the cultivator to have a vast space which may remain covered with trees, as long as till it becomes necessary to fell them, in order to make room for the indigo: for trees are to be considered as syphons, by means of which the earth and air reciprocally communicate to each other their fluid and vegetating substance; syphons, into which the vapours and the juices being alternately drawn up, are kept in equilibrium. Thus while the sap ascends by the roots to the branches, the leaves draw in the air and vapours, which circulating through the fibres of the tree redescend into the earth, and restore to it in dew, what it loses in sap. It is in order to maintain this reciprocal influence, that when there are no trees to preserve the fields in a proper state for the sowing of indigo, it is customary to cover those which are exhausted by this plant with

potatoes

potatoes or lianes, whose creeping branches preserve the freshness of the earth, and whose leaves when burnt, restore its fertility.

INDIGO is distinguished into two kinds, the true, and the bastard. Though the first fetches an higher price by reason of its perfection, it is usually advantageous to cultivate the other, because it is heavier. A greater number of lands is found propitious to the former; the second prospers better in those which are most exposed to the rain. Both are liable to great accidents. Sometimes the plant becomes dry, and decays from the puncture of a worm that is very frequent; at others, the leaves, which are the valuable part of the plant, are devoured in the space of twenty four hours by caterpillars. This last accident which is but too common, has given occasion to the saying, that the cultivators of indigo go to bed rich and rise in the morning totally ruined.

THIS production ought to be gathered in with great precaution, for fear of making the farina that lies on the leaves, and which is very valuable, fall off by shaking it. When gathered it is thrown into the steeping vat, which is a large tub, filled with water. Here it undergoes a fermentation, which in twenty four hours at furthest, is completed. A cock is then turned to let the water run into the second tub called the mortar or pounding tub. They immediately clean the steeping vat, in order to throw in fresh plants, and continue the work without interruption.

THE water, which has run into the pounding tub, is found impregnated with a very subtile earth, which alone constitutes the dregs or blue substance, that is the object of this process, and which must be separated from the useless salt of the plant, because this makes the dregs swim on the surface. To effect this, the water is forcibly shaken with wooden buckets that are full of holes, and fixed to a long handle. This operation requires the greatest

greateſt precaution. If the agitation be diſcontinued too ſoon, the part that is uſed in dying not being ſufficiently ſeparated from the ſalt would be loſt. If, on the other hand, the dye were to be agitated too long after the entire ſeparation, the parts would be brought together again, and form a new combination; and the ſalt reacting on the dregs would excite a ſecond fermentation, that would alter the dye, ſpoil its colour, and make what is called burnt indigo. Theſe accidents are prevented by a cloſe attention to the leaſt alterations that the dye undergoes, and by the precaution which the workmen take to draw out a little of it from time to time with a proper veſſel. When he perceives that the coloured particles collect by ſeparating from the reſt of the liquor, he gives over ſhaking the buckets, in order to allow time to the blue dregs to precipitate to the bottom of the tub, where they are left to ſettle, till the water be quite clear. Holes made in the tub at different heights are then opened one after another, and this uſeleſs water is let out.

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The blue dregs remaining at the bottom, having acquired the conſiſtence of a thick muddy liquid, cocks are then opened, which make it paſs into the ſettler. After it is ſtill more cleared of much ſuperfluous water in this third and laſt tub, it is drained into ſacks; from whence, when water no longer filters through the cloth, this matter, now become of a thicker conſiſtence, is put into cheſts, where it entirely loſes its moiſture. At the end of three months the indigo is fit for ſale.

Waſherwomen uſe it to give a blueiſh colour to linen: painters alſo employ it in their water colours; and dyers cannot make fine blue without indigo. The antients procured it from the Eaſt Indies; in modern times it has been tranſplanted into America. The cultivation of it, ſucceſſively attempted at different places, appears to be fixed at Carolina, San Domingo, and Mexico.

The

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The indigo, known under the name of Guatimala, from whence it comes, is the most perfect of all. New Spain derives very considerable advantage from this plant; but it gains still more from the trade of cochineal.

The nature of the cochineal, without which neither purple nor scarlet could be made, and which is found only in Mexico, hath been long unknown, even to nations who made the most use of it. The Spaniards, who are naturally reserved, and who instantly become mysterious when the discourse turns upon their colonies, kept a secret, which every thing induced them to believe was of the last importance to them. At last it became known that it was an insect of the size and form of a bug.

This insect, like all animals, has two sexes. The female is badly shaped, tardy, and stupid; its eyes, mouth, antennæ, and feet are fixed so deep, and are so concealed on the folds of the skin, that it is impossible to distinguish them without a microscope. On which account, this animal was for a long time taken for the seed of a plant.

The male is very scarce, and adequate to three hundred females or more, and is active, small, and slender in comparison of the female: its neck is narrower than the head, and still narrower than the rest of the body. The thorax is of an elliptic form, a little longer than the neck and head together, and flattened below; its antennæ are jointed, and out of each joint issue four bristles, that are disposed in pairs on each side. It has six feet, each formed of distinct parts. From the posterior extremity of its body, two large hairs or bristles stretch out, that are four or five times the length of the insect. It bears two wings that are fixed to the upper part of the thorax, which fall, like the wings of ordinary flies, when it walks or rests. These wings, which

are of an oblong form, are suddenly diminished in breadth at the point where they are connected to the body. They are ſtrengthened by two long muſcles, one of which extends itſelf on the outſide all around the wing, and the other, which is internal and parallel to the former, ſeems interrupted towards the ſummit of the wings. The male is of a bright red, the female of a deeper colour.

THE ſhrub, on which both live, called the Nopal or Indian fig, is armed with prickles, and is about five feet high. Its leaves are thick and oval; its flowers large, and its fruit is of the ſhape of a fig. It is filled with a red juice, to which the cochineal probably owes its colour.

THE Indian fig is commonly propagated from one or two of its leaves put in a hole, and covered with earth. The cultivation of it conſiſts only in extirpating the weeds that ſurround it. It muſt often be renewed, becauſe the younger it is, the better and more conſiderable is its produce. It is found in various countries of Mexico, at Plaſcala, Chalula, Chiapa, and New Galicia; but it is not common. The people never plant it, and the cochineal, which is ſuch as rude nature of itſelf produces, is called wild, and is of little or no value. The Indians alone of Guaxaca, devote themſelves wholly to this ſpecies of induſtry. They are never diſcouraged either by the continual attention it requires, nor by the too common misfortunes to which it expoſes them. Their intelligence, activity, and eaſy circumſtances, enable them to ſupport a bad harveſt, and wait for a good one. In general, theſe crops are more regular in a dry ſoil, in which the nopal flouriſhes, and under a temperate ſky, where the cochineal is expoſed to fewer accidents, than in thoſe parts of the province where the cold and heat are more ſenſibly felt.

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As soon as the favourable season arrives, the Mexicans, if I may use the expression, sow the cochineals on the plant that is proper for them, by fastening to it little nests of moss, that contain each twelve or fifteen. Three or four days after they lay their little ones, which spread themselves with astonishing celerity over all the branches. They soon lose this activity, and are seen to fasten themselves, without rambling any longer, to the most nutritive and best exposed part of the leaf, until they have received their whole growth. They do not gnaw it, they only puncture it, and extract the juice with a small trunk, with which nature has provided them for this purpose.

THREE crops of cochineal are made every year, which are so many fresh generations of this insect. The last produces only an indifferent cochineal, because it is mixed with detached parcels of the leaves, which have been scraped in order to take away the new born insects, which otherwise it would be hardly possible to gather; and because the young cochineals are then mixed with the old; a circumstance which considerably diminishes their value. Immediately before the rains, the branches of the nopal are cut, in order to save the little insects which are on them. These are laid up in the houses, where the leaves maintain their freshness, as the leaves of all mucilaginous plants. Here the cochineals thrive during the bad season. As soon as that is over, they are placed on the trees without doors, where the vivifying freshness of the air soon makes them propagate.

THE cochineals are no sooner gathered, but they are plunged in hot water to kill them. There are different ways of drying them. The best is, exposing them to the sun for several days, where they take a red brown colour, which the Spaniards call *rinegrida*. The second is putting them in an oven, where they assume a greyish colour with veins of purple, which has given them the name of *jaspeada*. But the most imperfect, which is what

what the Indians most generally practise, consists in putting them on plates along with their cakes of maize, which proves frequently occasions their being burnt, and gives them the appellation of negro.

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Thus does the cochineal is classed in the animal kingdom, which is a species the most perishable, it notwithstanding never spoils. Without any other care than merely that of keeping it in a box, it has been preserved in all its virtue for ages. Its price, which is always very high, might justly excite the emulation of those nations which cultivate the American islands, and of other nations who inhabit regions, whose temperature would be propitious to this insect, and to the plant on which it feeds. New Spain, however, has the sole possession of this rich production. Independently of what it furnishes Asia with, it sends every year to Europe about two thousand five hundred bags of hides, which are sold at Cadiz, one with another for 3300 livres.[b] This is a very considerable produce, which hardly costs the Spaniards any trouble. It should seem as if nature had gratuitously given them what they sell at a high price to other nations. She has bestowed privileges upon them, by granting them at the same time both the productions which yield the most riches, and gold and silver, which are the vehicle or token of all productions.

Such is the dominion which these bright and fatal metals have over us, that they have counterbalanced the infamy and execration, which the pillagers of America justly deserved. The names of Mexico, Peru, and Potosi, no longer make us shudder; and yet we are men! Even at this day, when the spirit of justice, and the sentiments of humanity are breathed forth in all our writings, and are become the invariable rule of our judg-

The mines of Mexico.

[b] About 144l.

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judgment, a navigator, who should come into our ports with a vessel laden with riches, notoriously obtained by methods equally barbarous, would land amidst the general acclamations of the multitude. Where is then that wisdom, which is so much the boast of the present age? What is then that gold, which takes from us the idea of vice, and wipes away the horror of bloodshed? Without doubt there is some advantage annexed to a medium of exchange between nations, to an external representation of all sorts of value, to a common estimate of all labours. But would it not have been better if nations had continued quiet, detached from each other, ignorant, and hospitable, than to be poisoned with the most ferocious of all passions?

THE origin of metals has not always been well understood. It was long thought that they were as old as the creation. It is now believed with greater reason, that they are formed successively. In fact, it is not possible to doubt, that nature is not continually employed in action, and that her forings are equally powerful in every part of the globe.

EVERY metal, according to the chymists, has for its principle an earth which constitutes it, and which is peculiar to it. It is exhibited to us, sometimes under the form that characterizes it, and sometimes under various forms, in which only eyes that have been habituated to these researches can recognize it. In the first case it is called *virgin*, in the second mineralized ore.

The mines of Mexico.

METALS whether virgin or mineralized, are sometimes scattered by fragments in beds of earth that are horizontal or inclined. But this is not the place of their origin. They have been carried thither by great commotions, floods, and earthquakes, which are continually subverting our miserable planet. They are commonly found, sometimes in regular veins, and sometimes

ſometimes in detached maſſes, within the midſt of the rocks and mountains where they were formed.

ACCORDING to the conjectures of naturaliſts, in theſe great workhouſes which are always kept heated, exhalations are perpetually riſing. Theſe ſulphureous and ſaline liquors act on the metallic particles, attenuate and divide them; and make them ſlightly circulate within the cavities of the earth. They unite again, and then becoming too heavy to ſupport themſelves in the air, they fall, and are heaped up one upon another. If, in their different motions, they have not met with other bodies, they form pure metals. The caſe is otherwiſe, if they happen to be combined with foreign ſubſtances.

NATURE, which ſeemed as if ſhe wiſhed to conceal them, has not been able to ſecrete them from the avidity of man. By repeated obſervations, we are now able to diſcover the places where mines are found. Theſe are commonly mountains, where plants grow with difficulty, and ſoon fade; where trees are ſmall and crooked; where the moiſture of dews, rains, and even ſnows, is ſoon dried up; where ſulphureous and mineral exhalations arife; where the waters are loaded with vitriolic ſalts; and where the ſands contain metallic particles. Though each of theſe marks, ſeparately conſidered, be ambiguous, it ſeldom happens when all of them are found together, but that the earth contains ſome mine.

BUT what are the terms, on which we extract this treaſure or this poiſon of human life from that abyſs, where nature had ſecreted it? We muſt pierce rocks to an immenſe depth; dig ſubterraneous channels to carry off the waters which flow in and menace us on every ſide; convey into immenſe galleries foreſts cut into props; ſupport the vaults of theſe galleries under the enormous weight of the earth which perpetually tends to fill them up, and bury in their ruins thoſe avaricious and

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presumptuous men who constructed them; we must scoop out canals and aqueducts; invent hydraulic machines of astonishing and various powers, and construct all the several kinds of furnaces: we must be exposed to the danger of being suffocated or consumed by an exhalation which kindles at the dim light of those lamps, that are used to carry on the works; and at last die of a consumption which reduces human life to one half of its duration. If we consider how many observations, experiments, and trials all these labours suppose, we shall carry the origin of the world far beyond its known antiquity. To shew us the gold, iron, copper, tin, and silver employed by the first men, is to beguile us with a falsehood which can only impose upon children.

When the labour of mineralogy is finished, that of metallurgy begins. Its object is to separate metals from each other, and to detach them from extraneous bodies which invelope them.

In order to separate the gold from the stones which contain it, it is sufficient to break them in pieces and reduce them to powder. The matter thus pulverized, is afterwards triturated with quicksilver, which combines itself to this precious metal, but without forming any union, either with the rock, or sand, or even the earth which were mixed with it. By means of fire, the mercury is afterwards distilled, which on separating, leaves the gold at the bottom of the vessel in the state of a powder which is purified in the coppel. Virgin silver also requires no other preparations.

But when the silver is combined with other substances, or with metals of a different nature, it requires great knowledge and consummate experience to purify it. Every circumstance authorizes us to think that this art is unknown in the new world. It is also generally acknowledged that the German or Swiss miners would find in a mine that has already been worked, more wealth

wealth than the Spaniard had already extracted out of it. They might enrich themselves by mines, which for want of skill, have been rejected as inadequate to the expences of working them.

The art of the Mexicans, whatsoever it might be, was yet infinitely below that of their oppressors. They had consequently less silver than gold. These metals were not employed by them as a medium of exchange: they were only objects of ornament, or mere curiosity.

In the first years subsequent to the conquest, the Spaniards spared themselves the trouble, toil and expences that are inseparable from the working of mines. They wrested from the Mexicans all the metals which they had amassed from the foundation of their empire. The temples, the palaces of the grandees, the houses of private persons, the meanest hovels; all were searched and pillaged. Though the abhorrence the Indians had of their tyrants made them bury a great deal of their wealth in the ground, and throw much more of it into the great lake, and into their rivers, yet avarice found enough to satisfy itself. This source exhausted, recourse was necessarily had to the mines.

They dug them at first indifferently every where, but rather preferred the sea coasts. Experience teaching them that those which were nearest the ocean, were least abounding in these treasures, they became disgusted with this plan. At present they work no mine, that is not at a very great distance from the northern sea, where it might be exposed to the incursions, and, perhaps, to the invasions of the Europeans. The metals that are on the gulf of California appear to remain in perfect security, 'till these latitudes become better known and more frequented. The principal mines are in the provinces of Zacatecas, new Biscay, and Mexico, situated in the inland parts of the empire, where it is impos-

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ſible for an enemy to penetrate by land, and to which there are no navigable rivers that lead. Theſe mines may employ forty thouſand Indians, under the direction of four thouſand Spaniards.

THE mines belong to the perſon who diſcovers them. The only form he is obliged to obſerve is to get his ſamples approved by the government. As much land is granted to him as he chooſes; but he is obliged to give a piaſtre, or five livres five ſous [c] a foot to the proprietor. The third of what he purchaſes, belongs to government; which after long continued and abſurd attempts to have it worked on its own account, reſolves to diſpoſe of it to any one who will be a purchaſer, in preference to the perſon who works the mine. All the mines that are abandoned, become alſo the property of the crown.

IT receives 420 livres [d] for every hundred weight of mercury that is uſed. In vain have intelligent people repreſented that this exceſſive tax neceſſarily diſcouraged induſtry, but all they have ſaid has been to little purpoſe. All that has been obtained, is, the grant of credit for two years, but not without paying intereſt. It is ſeldom that thoſe who undertake to work mines, are able to go on without theſe indulgencies. Their uncertain and hazardous enterprizes are ſcarcely ever undertaken, unleſs by men whoſe affairs are embarraſſed or totally ruined.

MEN of good ſenſe and in eaſy circumſtances, have a more particular averſion for theſe undertakings, from the obligation they are under of delivering to government the fifth part of the ſilver, and the tenth part of the gold which they draw from the earth. The ſtate had a long time objected to this difference of taxation; but has been obliged to conſent to it; becauſe the mines of

[c] About 4s. 7d. [d] 18l. 7s. 6d.

gold

gold being more precarious than thoſe of ſilver, were totally abandoned. Both the one and the other will ſoon be unable to pay the tribute impoſed on them. As gold and ſilver become more common in trade, the value of them is proportionally diminiſhed, and becomes leſs adequate to the goods for which they are exchanged. This decreaſing value of metals, would have been attended with ſtill greater conſequences, if the labours which procure them had not been ſucceſſively rendered more and more ſimple. This oeconomy is carried very near as far as it can go; and whenever that happens, the court of Madrid will be under a neceſſity of leſſening the duties, unleſs it ſubmits to have the beſt mines neglected, as the indifferent ones have been. Perhaps, it will ſoon be obliged to content itſelf with two reals or twenty ſix ſous [e] a mark, which it receives for the duties of ſtamping and coining.

The mint of Mexico annually coin about 65 millions of livres [f]; the ſixth part nearly in gold, the reſt in ſilver. About the half of this paſſes into Europe, a fixth part into the Eaſt Indies, a twelfth into the Spaniſh iſlands. The reſt paſſes off inſenſibly in foreign colonies, or circulates in the empire. There it ſerves to carry on the inland trade, and to pay the taxes which are conſiderable.

Taxes eſtabliſhed in Mexico

All the males among the Indians from eighteen to fifty, pay a poll tax of 11 livres 16 ſous [g], of which eight ninths muſt be paid into the treaſury, and the reſt is deſtined to various uſes. The Meſtees who are deemed Indians for the two firſt generations, and free Mulattoes, are ſubjected to the ſame taxation. Thoſe negro ſlaves are exempted from it, for whom 280

[e] 1s. 1d. ½.

[f] 2,843,750 l.

[g] About 10s.

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livres [h] have been paid to the king at their admiſſion into the colony.

THE Spaniards whom they have not ſo far degraded as to impoſe on them a perſonal tribute, are ſubjected to all the other taxes. The moſt conſiderable of which, is that of thirty three per cent. on the value of all the goods that are ſent to them from Europe, which retains twenty-five of this under divers denominations, and eight of it is paid at their arrival in the new world. This ruinous taxation does not prevent them from being afterwards ſubjected to the alcavala.

THE alcavala is a duty on every thing that is ſold or exchanged, and is paid as often as the ſale or exchange takes place. It was eſtabliſhed in the metropolis in 1341, and it hath gradually advanced to ten per cent. of the value of merchandiſe ſold in wholeſale, and even to fourteen of all that ſold by retail. Philip II. after the diſaſter of his fleet, ſo well known under the pompous title of the invincible, was determined by his urgent wants to introduce this taxation into Mexico, as in the other colonies. Though it ought to have been only a temporary tax, yet it has continued ever ſince. It is true, that it has not been augmented, and that it remained at two and a half per cent. as it was at firſt ſettled. The cruciade has not had the ſame ſtability.

THE cruciade is a bull which allows great indulgencies, and permits the uſe of eggs, butter, and cheeſe, during lent. The government, to whom the court of Rome gave up the benefits accruing from it, had divided the perſons who were willing to avail themſelves of it into four claſſes. This indulgence was paid by thoſe who lived by their induſtry, at the rate of two livres ſix ſous [i]. Thoſe, who had been able to raiſe a capital of 10,500 livres [k], paid 5 livres 5 ſous [l]; it coſt 10 livres

[h] 12l. 5s. [i] About 2 ſhillings. [k] Near 460l. [l] About 4 ſhillings.

10 ſous,

10 sous[m], to those who possessed more than 58,600 livres[n], and 52 livres 10 sous [o] to the viceroy, and those who were invested with the most honourable dignities. It was left to every man's conscience, by informing him that he would obtain nothing, if he did not proportion his contribution to his fortune. Mexico alone then paid about 2,600,000 livres [p]. It is probable that this superstition decreased, since the ministry in 1556 fixed this bull, for all conditions, at 40 sous [q]. Government obliges nobody to take it; but the priests would refuse the comforts of religion to those who should not have purchased it; and perhaps there is not in all Spanish America a man sufficiently enlightened, or bold enough to set himself above this imposition.

One species of oppression, which has not been so patiently submitted to, is the duty which they have of late put on salt and tobacco. The people, who suffered their former calamities without murmuring, were highly disgusted with these innovations. One of them appeared so repugnant to natural right, and the other so strongly contradicted one of their most agreeable enjoyments, that though they had been for a long time accustomed to the yoke, there was an insurrection among them. The atrocious conduct of the farmers of the revenues, greatly added to the general discontent. It discovered itself from one end of the empire to the other, and has been heard of even in Europe. Some mild dispositions have palliated the evil; but they are still in a degree of ferment, that the metropolis will not easily appease without some sacrifice. One of the most agreeable to its colonies would be that of stamped paper.

Independently of the regular tributes which Spain exacts of her colonies, she raises in times of distress, under the denomination of loan, considerable sums, of

m About 9 shillings and two pence.
n About 2560l.
o About 2l. 4s.
p Near 114,000l.
q 1s. 9d.

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which she hath never payed either the interest or the capital. This vexation, which began in the time of Philip II. hath been continued to our days. It was more frequently repeated under Philip V, than in the course of the other reigns, which contributed not a little to render the French name odious in these countries. This contribution, which was levied on all who possessed any fortune, was urged with more eagerness at Mexico than in other places; because the Europeans, Creoles, Mestees, Mulattoes, and especially the Indians, were there in more affluent circumstances. The public prosperity has been greatly diminished in this country by the revenue laws, and is every day still more so by the rapaciousness of the clergy.

The clergy rigorously collect the tenth of every produce. The functions of their profession are paid them at an extravagant price. Their lands are immense, and every day they acquire a greater extent of territory. They are thought to be in possession of a fourth of the revenues of the empire. The bishop of Angelos alone, has an income of 1,260,000 livres[7]. These scandalous riches have multiplied ecclesiastics to such a degree, that they now constitute the fifth part of the whole population of the white people. Some of them were born in the colony; but the greatest part are adventurers come from Europe, in order to screen themselves from the authority of their superiors, or to make their fortune expeditiously.

The revenue of the crown is not what it ought to be. The duties fixed on goods which are imported here from Cadiz, and on the ores, the quicksilver, the poll tax, the imposts, the royal domain, are such great objects, that we cannot help being greatly surprised, when we see that the sovereign annually draws from Mexico,

[7] Above 55,100 l.

though

though the beſt conducted of his poſſeſſions, no more than about 6,300,000 livres[a]. The reſt, that is to ſay, almoſt the whole, is abſorbed by the civil and military government of the country, which are both in the utmoſt diſorder. BOOK VI.

THE finances are ſwallowed up by the vaſt number of clerks that are ſtationed every where; by corregidors who adminiſter juſtice in the provinces; by the commandants of places; by three ſuperior councils of juſtice known by the name of Audience; by thoſe who are inveſted with full authority, or by ſubalterns who gain the confidence of people in place. A part of this pillage finds its way into Europe, another part contributes to feed the pride, lazineſs, luxury, and profligacy of a ſmall number of Mexican towns, but principally of Mexico itſelf.

THE Mexicans who for a time might have been at a loſs to determine whether the Spaniards were a ſwarm of robbers or a conquering people, ſaw their capital almoſt totally deſtroyed by thoſe cruel wars, of which it was the theatre. Cortez was not long before he rebuilt it; and it has ſince been extended and embelliſhed.

ITS ſtreets are broad, ſtraight, and interſect each other at right angles. The houſes are pretty ſpacious, but without conveniences or decorations. Not one of the public edifices that are ſhewn with the greateſt oſtentation to travellers, recalls to the remembrance the finer days of architecture, nor even the good gothic times. The principal ſquares have a fountain in the center, and are pretty regular; but this is all their merit. There is a walk with a jet d'eau, where eight alleys meet, whoſe trees have a form and foliage not very agreeable to the eye. Superſtition has amaſſed treaſures from all the quarters of the globe in innumerable churches, without there being a ſingle one that raiſes the ſoul to any ſub-

[a] 276,000 l.

lime

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lime ideas, or that can fill the heart with pleasing sentiments.

THE air of this city is very temperate, so that woollen clothing may be worn all the year. The least precautions are sufficient to prevent any inconveniencies from the heat. Charles the fifth asked a Spaniard on his arrival from Mexico, how long the interval was there between summer and winter; *just as long*, replied he, with great truth and wit, *as it takes to pass out of sunshine into shade.*

THE city is built in the center of a great lake, which is bissected by a very narrow isthmus. That part of the lake, whose water is soft, calm, and full of fish, falls into the other which is salt, generally agitated, and without fish. The circumference of this whole lake, which is unequal in its extent, is about thirty leagues.

PEOPLE are not agreed with regard to the origin of these waters. The most common and probable opinion makes them issue from a large and lofty mountain situated to the south-west of Mexico, with this difference, that the salt water runs under a track of land that is full of mines, which communicate this quality to it.

BEFORE the conquest, Mexico and many other towns situated on the margin of the lake, were exposed to inundations, which rendered them dangerous to live in. Dikes constructed with incredible expence and labour, were not always sufficient to divert the torrents which poured down from the mountains. The Spaniards have also experienced these calamities. Most of their buildings, though constructed with care, and supported on piles, after a few years, sink four, five, or six feet, in a soil that is not firm enough to support them.

THESE inconveniencies gave rise to the project of draining off the waters. Accounts that were prodigiously exaggerated, assure us that in 1604, four hundred seventy-one thousand one hundred and fifty-four

Indians were employed in digging this canal. In order to find a fund neceſſary for defraying the expence of it, one hundredth part of the price of houſes, lands, and merchandiſe was exacted; a taxation unknown in the new world. Ignorance, diſcouragements, and particular intereſts made this noble and wiſe undertaking miſcarry.

The viceroy Ladeyrera, in 1635, thought that it would be of advantage, that it was even indiſpenſably neceſſary to build Mexico in another place. Avarice, incapable of making any ſacrifice; pleaſure, ever afraid of interrupting its enjoyments; idleneſs, which dreads trouble; all the paſſions united themſelves to thwart an idea, which in itſelf was liable to ſome objections.

The new efforts that have ſince been made to render living in this country as ſafe as it is agreeable, have not proved altogether ſucceſsful: whether this may be owing to their not having been properly exerted, or that nature has thrown inſurmountable obſtacles in the way, Mexico remains ſtill expoſed to the fury of the waters; and the dread of inundations has greatly diminiſhed its population. The majority of hiſtorians aſſure us, that it formerly contained more than two hundred thouſand ſouls; at preſent it has not above fifty thouſand. This number is compoſed of Spaniards, Meſtees, Indians, Negroes, Mulattoes, of ſuch a diverſity of heterogeneous races from the white to the black, that among an hundred faces one will hardly find two of the ſame colour.

Before this emigration, riches had accumulated in Mexico to an incredible degree. What in other countries is made of iron and copper, was here made of ſilver or gold. Theſe ſplendid metals, as well as pearls and precious ſtones, were employed to adorn their horſes and ſervants, the moſt common utenſils, and uſed for the meaneſt purpoſes. The manners of the country, which are always conformable to the luxury that prevails, corre-

ſponded

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ſponded with this ſtile of romantic magnificence. The women, in their palaces, were waited upon by thouſands of ſlaves, and never appeared in public but with a retinue, which amongſt us, is reſerved for the majeſty of a throne. To theſe extravagancies the men added profuſions ſtill greater for negro women, whom they publicly raiſed to the rank of their miſtreſſes. This luxury which was ſo exceſſive in the ordinary actions of life, exceeded all bounds on occaſion of the ſlighteſt feſtivals. The general pride then exerted itſelf, and each man laviſhed millions to acquire the ſuperiority for his own particular taſte. The crimes neceſſary to ſupport this extravagance, were previouſly atoned for; as ſuperſtition had pronounced every man holy and juſt who ſhould contribute liberally to churches.

THE treaſures, and the pomp naturally attendant upon them, muſt neceſſarily have diminiſhed at Mexico, in proportion as thoſe who poſſeſſed them ſought an aſylum at Angelos and other towns. The advantage, however, which this capital enjoys of being the center of the dominion, the ſeat of government, the place where the coin is ſtruck, the reſidence of the greateſt proprietors of lands and of the richeſt traders, has always occaſioned the greateſt part of the principal affairs of the empire to be tranſacted here.

Connections of Mexico with the reſt of America, with the Eaſt Indies, and with Europe.

THE trade Mexico carries on with the other parts of America is much confined. By the north ſea it receives from Maracaybo and Caracos cocoa greatly ſuperior to its own, and negroes by the way of the Havannah and Carthagena; it gives in exchange meal and ſilver.

ITS connections with the ſouth ſea are of greater utility to it, without being much more conſiderable. Originally Peru was allowed to ſend annually to New Spain two veſſels, whoſe cargoes together were not to exceed one million ten thouſand livres[t]. This was ſome time afterwards reduced to half. It was totally ſup-

[t] Above 44,000l.

preſſed

preſſed in 1636, on pretence that it prejudiced the trade of the metropolis, by the quantity of East India goods it imported into the country. The merchants of Lima complained a long time, but ineffectually, of a barbarous law that deprived them of the double advantage of ſelling the ſuperfluities of their commodities, and of receiving thoſe they wanted. The communication between the two colonies was at laſt re-eſtabliſhed, but with reſtrictions which prove that the government had not acquired any conſiderable information, and that it only yielded to importunity. Since this period, the veſſels ſent out from Callao and Guayaquil, carry cocoa, wines, and brandies to Acapulco and Sonſonnate on the coaſt of Guatimala, and bring back pitch, tar, arnotto, indigo, cochineal, iron, the haberdaſhery wares of Angelos, and as many contraband goods as poſſible from the Philippine iſlands, ſo celebrated in Europe from the connections which they have with Mexico. The importance of this communication ſeems to require that we ſhould trace its origin.

When the court of Madrid, whoſe ambition increaſed with their proſperity, had formed the plan of a great eſtabliſhment in Aſia, their attention was ſeriouſly engaged in conſidering of expedients to inſure its ſucceſs. This project muſt neceſſarily be expoſed to great difficulties. The riches of America ſo powerfully attracted the Spaniards, who conſented to a voluntary exile, that it did not appear poſſible to engage them to go and ſettle at the Philippines, unleſs it was agreed to give them a ſhare in theſe treaſures. This ſacrifice was reſolved upon. The riſing colony was authorized to ſend every year into America, India goods in exchange for metals.

This unbounded liberty was attended with ſuch conſequences, that it excited the jealouſy of the metropolis. Things were a little quieted by reſtraining to 3,150,000 livres[a] the trade allowed to be carried on. This ſum

[a] Near 138,000l.

was

BOOK VI.

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was divided in twelve thousand equal shares. Every head of a family was to have one, and persons in place a number proportioned to their rank. Religious communities were comprehended in this arrangement, according to the extent of their credit, and the opinion that was entertained of their utility. Two hundred of these shares were allowed to the Jesuits, whose employments and enterprizes seemed to require greater means.

The vessels which departed at first from the island of Cebu, and afterwards from the island of Luconia, originally took the route of Peru. The length of this voyage was prodigious. They discovered trade-winds which opened a much shorter passage to Mexico; and this branch of commerce was transacted on its coast, where it was established.

Every year, in the middle of July, they send out from the port of Manilla, a galleon, which is commonly from eighteen hundred to two thousand tons. After getting clear of a multitude of islands and rocks which delayed its course, it steers east-north-east, in order to meet with the west winds in thirty degrees latitude, which bring them in a straight course to the end of their voyage. This vessel, which is very heavy laden, is six months on her passage, because the sailors who are on board, from their extreme timidity never hoist the main sail in the night time, and often lower all their sails without the least occasion. At last the ship arrives at Mexico.

The coasts of this great empire are not like those of Peru, where the vicinity and heights of the Cordeleras afford a perpetual spring, and cause regular and mild winds to blow. As soon as the ship has passed the latitude of Panama the free communication of the atmosphere, east by west, not being any longer interrupted by this prodigious chain of mountains, the climate becomes different. In reality, navigation in these latitudes is safe

ſafe and eaſy from the middle of October to the beginning of May; but during the reſt of the year, the violences of the weſt wind, the dreadful ſtorms, the exceſſive rains, the ſuffocating heats, the total calms; all theſe obſtacles, which are combined or ſucceed each other, render the ſea troubleſome and even dangerous. Throughout this whole extent of coaſt, which is more than ſix hundred leagues, there is not a ſingle bark to be ſeen, nor even the leaſt canoe, either for trade or fiſhing. Even the ports, which are ſcattered up and down here, are open, defenceleſs, and expoſed to the inſults of the firſt pirate that may be inclined to attack them. The port of Acapulco, where the galleons arrive, is the only one that has attracted the attention of government.

Ships arrive there by two inlets, ſeparated from each other by a ſmall iſland: the entrance into them in the day, is by means of a ſea breeze, as the ſailing out in the night time is effected by a land breeze. A wretched fort, forty-two pieces of cannon, and a garriſon of ſixty men, defend it. It is equally extenſive, ſafe, and commodious. The baſon which conſtitutes this harbour, is ſurrounded by lofty mountains, which are ſo dry that they are even deſtitute of water. The air here is hot, heavy, and unwholeſome, to which none can habituate themſelves, except certain negroes that are born under a ſimilar climate, or ſome mulattoes. This feeble and miſerable colony is crowded with a vaſt acceſſion to its numbers upon the arrival of the galleons; traders flocking here from all the provinces of Mexico, who come to exchange European toys, their own cochineal, and about ten millions [x] of ſilver for ſpices, muſlins, printed linens, ſilks, perfumes, and the gold works of Aſia. After continuing about three months, the veſſel takes

[x] 437,500l.

again

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again the route of the Philippines before the first of April, with one or two companies of infantry that are appointed to relieve the garrison of Manilla. Part of the riches with which it is laden remains in the colony, the rest is distributed among the nations which have contributed to form its cargo.

The immense space, which the galleons have to traverse, has made it necessary to look out for places where they might take in refreshments. The first that has been met with of this kind, is on the route from Acapulco to the Philippines, in those islands known at first by the name of the Ladrones, and since by the name of Marianne islands. They were discovered by Magellan in 1521. They were at first neglected; the galleons afterwards used to put in there for refreshment, but there was no regular settlement made here till the year 1678.

These islands are situated at the extremity of the south sea, near four hundred leagues to the east of the Philippines. Their position in the torrid zone prevents not the climate from being moderately temperate. The air is pure, the sky serene, and the soil fruitful. Before their intercourse with the Europeans, the inhabitants, who were always naked, lived only on fruits, roots, and fish. As fishing was their usual and sole occupation, they had constructed canoes, more perfect than any that have ever been found in the rest of the world.

The people, who are very numerous, and are diffused in twelve islands, that are the only inhabited ones in this archipelago, have gradually diminished since the invasion of the Spaniards, either by contagious disorders, or by the bad usage which they have experienced. The remainder, to the number of two thousand seven hundred persons, have collected themselves in the center of the island of Guam, which may have from twenty-five to thirty leagues circumference. It is garrisoned by a

hundred men, who are appointed to defend two ſmall forts that are ſituated on two roads, one of which receives a ſmall veſſel, which every two years arrives here from the Philippines, and the other is deſtined to furniſh refreſhments to the galleon. This laſt fort is ſo wretched, that the veſſel never ſtays here more than two days, and in that ſhort time it is often expoſed to very great dangers. It is very extraordinary that Spain has not ſought for a better harbour, or very ſingular that no one has been found in ſuch a multitude of iſlands. California preſents an aſylum more ſecure to the galleons that come from the Philippines to Acapulco.

CALIFORNIA is properly a long neck of land which ſtretches from the northern coaſts of America, and runs along between eaſt and ſouth as far as the torrid zone: it is waſhed on each ſide by the pacific ocean. The part that is known of this peninſula is three hundred leagues long, and ten, twenty, thirty, or forty broad.

IT is impoſſible that in ſo vaſt an extent, the nature of the ſoil, and the temperature of the air ſhould be every where the ſame. It may be ſaid, however, that in general the climate here is dry and exceſſively hot; the ground bare, ſtony, mountainous, ſandy, and conſequently barren, and unfit for agriculture and breeding cattle. Amidſt the ſmall number of trees that are found here, the moſt uſeful is the pitahaya, the produce of which conſtitutes the principal food of the Californians. Its branches which are fluted and perpendicular, have no leaves, and it is from the ſtems that the fruit grows. It is prickly like the Indian cheſnut; but its pulp reſembles that of the fig, with this advantage, that it is much ſweeter and more delicate.

THE ſea, which is richer than the land, ſwarms with fiſh of every kind in the greateſt abundance, and of the moſt exquiſite taſte. But what renders the gulf of California of more importance, is the pearls,

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which, in the fishing season, draw together the inhabitants of all the provinces of New Spain.

The Californians are well made and very stout. An extreme pusillanimity, inconstancy, indolence, stupidity, and even insensibility, form their character. They are children in whom the powers of reason are not yet unfolded. They are swarthier than the Mexicans. This difference of colour proves that the civilized life of society, subverts or totally changes the order and laws of nature, since we find under the temperate zone a savage people that are blacker than the civilized nations of the torrid zone.

Before the Europeans had penetrated into California, the natives had no form of religion; and their government was such as might be expected from their ignorance. Each nation was an assemblage of several cottages, more or less numerous, that were all mutually confederated by alliances, but without any chief. They were strangers even to filial obedience. The men were acquainted with no species of dress, but the women covered those parts nature intended should be concealed with extreme care.

Whether these particulars were known or not, certain it is that Mexico was no sooner reduced and tranquility established, than the plan was laid for the conquest of California. Cortez landed there in 1526. He had not even time to take a survey of it, because he was obliged to return to his government, where the report of his death had disposed the minds of the people to a general insurrection. The several attempts that have since been made to form an establishment there, have all been unsuccessful. The endeavours of the court were not more fortunate than those of individuals. If we pay the least attention to the spirit that directed these enterprizes, we shall find that want of humanity, courage, and perseverance was the cause of these misfortunes. There

was

was not a ſingle expedition that was not ill concerted or imprudently conducted.

SPAIN diſpirited with her loſſes and expences, had entirely abandoned the acquiſition of California, when the Jeſuits in 1697 ſolicited permiſſion to undertake it. As ſoon as they had obtained the conſent of government they began to execute a plan of legiſlation, which they had formed from accurate ideas of the nature of the ſoil, the character of the inhabitants, and the influence of the climate. They were not guided by fanaticiſm. They arrived among the ſavages they purpoſed to civilize with curioſities that might amuſe them, grain proper to be their food, and apparel fit to pleaſe them. The hatred theſe people bore to the Spaniſh name, could not ſupport itſelf againſt theſe demonſtrations of benevolence. They teſtified their acknowledgments, as much as want of ſenſibility and their inconſtancy were capable of. Theſe vices were in part ſubdued by the religious inſtitutors, who proſecuted their project with a warmth and reſolution peculiar to their body. They made themſelves carpenters, maſons, weavers, and huſbandmen, and by theſe means ſucceeded in imparting knowledge, and in ſome meaſure a taſte for the firſt arts of neceſſity to this ſavage people; who have been all ſucceſſively formed into one body. In 1745, they conſiſted of forty-three villages, that were ſeparated by the barreneſs of the ſoil and the want of water. This republic will augment, in proportion as the ſucceſſors of thoſe who formed it, ſhall proſecute their labours northwards, where, according to a plan that was judiciouſly concerted, a communication was to be eſtabliſhed between the miſſionaries of the peninſula, and thoſe of the continent. They are only ſeparated from each other by the river Colorado.

THESE ſmall boroughs principally ſubſiſt on corn and pulſe which they cultivate, and on the fruits and domeſtic animals of Europe, the breeding of which is an object of continual attention. The Indians have

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each their field, and the property of what they reap; but such is their want of foresight, that they would squander in a day what they had gathered, if the missionary did not take upon himself to distribute it to them as they want it. They already make some coarse stuffs. The necessaries they stand in need of, are purchased with pearls, which they fish in the gulf, and with wine that nearly resembles that of Madeira, which they sell to New Spain and to the galleons, and experience hath shewn it is highly important that the use of this liquor should be prohibited them.

TWELVE laws, that are very simple, suffice to regulate this rising state. In order to enforce the observance of them, the missionary chuses the most intelligent person of the village; who is impowered to whip and imprison, the only punishments of which they have any knowledge.

IN all California there are only two garrisons, each consisting of thirty men, and a soldier with every missionary. These troops were selected by the legislators, and are under their orders, though they are paid by the government. The court of Madrid saw no inconvenience in leaving these trifling forces in the hands of those who had acquired their confidence; and they demonstrated to them that nothing but this expedient would have prevented the oppression of their new subjects.

THEY will continue happy just as long as no mines are discovered in their territory. If there are any mines, as the great number on the other side of the gulf is a strong presumption, no sooner will they be found out, but the edifice that has been reared with such trouble and good sense, will be at once subverted. These people, like so many others, will disappear from the surface of the earth. The gold, which the Spanish government would draw from California, would deprive it of the advantages which its policy may now find in

the labours of its miſſionaries; who ſhould rather be encouraged to purſue their uſeful undertakings. Theſe, perhaps, might enable the court of Madrid to build forts, which would put them in a condition of beholding with tranquillity the diſcovery of that paſſage which the Engliſh have long ſought for, the north-weſt paſſage to the pacific ocean. It has alſo been imagined that theſe ramparts might prove a barrier againſt the Ruſſians, who in 1741 penetrated within twelve degrees of Cape Mendocino, the moſt northern poſition that has hitherto been known of California. But if they had obſerved that this voyage could not be undertaken but from the ſeas of Kamtſchatka, they would have been ſenſible that nothing could be fitted out there, but weak armaments merely to gratify curioſity, and which conſequently could not occaſion the leaſt diſquietude.

An advantage more certain, and leſs remote, is the facility which California gives of reducing the provinces which extend from the other ſide of the gulf to the river Colorado. Theſe rich countries are at ſuch a diſtance from Mexico, and ſo difficult of acceſs, that it appeared as dangerous to attempt the conqueſt of them, as uſeleſs to execute it. The liberty, the ſafety of the ſea of California, ought to encourage the undertaking, furniſh the means of ſucceeding in it, and inſure the advantages accruing from it. Philoſophers themſelves will invite the court of Madrid to theſe expeditions, as ſoon as they ſhall have ſeen them ſolemnly abjure thoſe fanatical and deſtructive principles which have hitherto conſtituted the baſis of their policy.

In the mean time, till Spain ſhall adopt theſe great ſpeculations, California ſerves for a place for ſhips that ſail from the Philippines to Mexico to put in at. Cape St. Lucar, ſituated at the ſouthern extremity of the peninſula, is the place where they touch. There they find a good harbour, refreſhments, and ſignals which give

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them information if any enemy appears in these latitudes that are very dangerous, and where they have been the most frequently attacked. It was in 1734 that the galleon arrived here for the first time. Its orders and its necessities have always since that time brought it hither.

THE system adopted by all the governments of Europe to hold colonies in the most absolute dependence on the metropolis, has always made the connections of Mexico with Asia, suspicious to several of the Spanish politicians. The opinion which has prevailed, and is still maintained, that it is not possible to preserve the Philippines, without this communication, has alone prevented them from having it broken. All their efforts have only been able to limit it, by hindering Peru from having any share in it. This vast empire has by severe and repeated laws been deprived of the advantage of drawing directly from the east, that merchandise of which it stood in need, and of the liberty even of indirectly deriving it from New Spain.

THESE shackles were disapproved by the bold and fertile genius of Alberoni. Full of the most extensive views for the prosperity and glory of that monarchy which he attempted to restore, he purposed to retain in it the treasures of the new world, to which it had hitherto served only as a mart. According to his plan, the east was to furnish all the articles of dress to the Spanish colonies and to the metropolis itself, which it would have received through the channel of its colonies. He justly expected that those powers, whose interests this arrangement would prejudice, and whose industry it would ruin, would strive to obstruct it; but he studied to brave their fury in the European seas, and he had already given orders for putting the coasts and harbours of the South Sea in a condition of not being intimidated by any dis-

treſſed and worn-out ſquadrons that might happen to attack them.

THESE views were defective in preciſion. Alberoni tranſported by the enthuſiaſm of his opinions, and by his hatred againſt thoſe nations that purpoſed to embarraſs his meaſures, did not perceive, that the ſilks and linens that ſhould be imported into Spain in the way he propoſed, would bear ſuch an exceſſive price, as would neceſſarily prevent the conſumption of them. The project of cloathing the people of North and South America from Aſia, appears to be a very ſenſible one.

THE coloniſts would be cloathed more agreeably, cheaper, and in a manner better adapted to the climate: The wars of Europe would not expoſe them to the want of things that are indiſpenſably neceſſary: They would become more wealthy, would be better affected to their mother country, and better enabled to defend themſelves againſt the enemies it might draw upon them: Theſe enemies themſelves would prove leſs formidable; becauſe they would gradually loſe the ſtrength which the furniſhing of Peru and Mexico with proviſions procures them. In a word, Spain by receiving on India goods the ſame duties as it receives on thoſe with which its rivals furniſh it, would loſe no branch of its revenues. It might even, if occaſion required, obtain from its colonies ſuccours, which at preſent they have neither the diſpoſition nor the power of granting. We ſhall inſiſt no longer on the commerce of Mexico with the Eaſt Indies; let us now ſpeak of its connections with Europe by the north ſea, and begin with that which the productions of Guatimala form.

THE province of Guatimala, which is one of the largeſt of New Spain, was conquered in 1524, and 1525, by Pedro de Alvarado, one of Cortez's lieutenants. He built in it ſeveral towns, and in particular the capi-

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the province which bears the name of the province. It is situated in a valley that is about three miles broad, and bounded by two mountains that are pretty lofty. From the mountain towards the south run several rivulets and fountains, which yield to the villages, that are situated on the declivity, a delicious freshness, and maintain a perpetual succession of flowers and fruits. The aspect of the mountain, that is to the north, is horrid. There is no verdure ever seen upon it: nothing but ashes, and calcined stones. A kind of noise, which the inhabitants ascribe to the boiling of metals that are in a state of fusion within the caverns of the earth, is heard continually. From these interior furnaces issue flames, and torrents of sulphur, which fill the air with an horrible infection. Guatimala, according to the expression of the country, is situated between paradise and hell.

Its situation, and its distance from Mexico and Guadalajara, have occasioned it to be fixed upon for the seat of an audience, which extends its jurisdiction over three hundred leagues to the south, an hundred to the north, forty to the east, and twelve to the west, towards the South Sea. The advantages it derived from this distinction soon formed it into a considerable colony, and this colony made the most of those gifts which nature has bestowed upon it. There is no country in this part of the new world, where she hath lavished her blessings with greater profusion. The air here is very wholesome, and the climate very temperate. Poultry and game are in the greatest abundance, and of an excellent flavour. No part of the earth produces better corn. The rivers, lakes, and sea, are every where replete with excellent fish. The oxen are here multiplied to such a degree, that it is become necessary to kill all that are grown wild on the mountains, lest they should prejudice agriculture by their excessive numbers.

THIS

Such fertility, however, is not the circumstance that renders Guatimala so valuable to the metropolis. Spain has properly no connection with this colony but by means of the indigo she derives from it. This is far superior to what the rest of America produces. In the cultivation of it they employ certain negroes, and a part of those Indians who have survived the tyranny of their conquerors. The labours of these slaves annually furnish, to Europe alone, two thousand five hundred tuns, which sell one with another at Cadiz for 168l. livres. This rich production is conveyed upon mules, with some other articles of lesser consequence, to the town of St. Thomas, situated sixty leagues from Guatimala, at the extremity of a very deep lake which loses itself in the gulf of Honduras. Here these goods always remain to be exchanged, for those that are sent from Europe in vessels of a moderate bulk, which commonly arrive in the months of July or August. Their cargo in return consists of some skins, some cassia, and some sarsaparilla, which is all the trade that the province of Honduras furnishes, though it be an hundred and fifty leagues long, and sixty or fourscore broad. The reputation it had first acquired, from its golden mines, was but transitory: they sank into total oblivion, after having proved the grave of nearly a million of Indians. The territory they inhabited remains uncultivated and waste, it is now the poorest part of all America. Both the people and the lands were sacrificed to the search after gold, and even that gold came to nothing.

GUATEMALA nearly furnishes the whole of those 6,000,000 livres, which is the amount of its productions joined to those of Honduras. The lake on which these riches are all accumulated, is entirely open, though it would have been very easy to have secured it from

every

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every attack; ſo much the more eaſily as its entrance is rendered narrow by two high rocks, which project on each ſide within cannon ſhot. It is probable that Spain will not alter her conduct till ſhe has ſuffered for her negligence; which might be eaſily effected.

THE veſſels that ſhould undertake this expedition might anchor in perfect ſafety in the road. A thouſand or twelve hundred men landing at St. Thomas, might croſs fifteen leagues of the mountains, where they would find commodious roads and ſubſiſtence. The reſt of the way would be acroſs plains that are well peopled and plentiful. They would arrive at Guatimala, which has not a ſingle ſoldier, nor the leaſt fortification. Its forty thouſand ſouls, Indians, Negroes, Meſtees, and Spaniards, who have never ſeen a ſword, would be incapable of the leaſt reſiſtance. In order to ſave their lives, they would deliver up to the enemy the immenſe riches that they have been accumulating for two centuries, which would amount at leaſt to thirty millions [a]. The troops would reimbark with this booty, and if they choſe it with hoſtages, that would inſure their retreat. The trade of Campeachy would be expoſed to the ſame invaſion, if it were worth it.

BETWEEN the gulph of Campeachy and Honduras we find a great peninſula, called Jucatan. Though this peninſula has neither river nor brook, the water is every where ſo near to the land, and ſhells are in ſuch vaſt abundance, that it is manifeſt that this immenſe ſpace formerly conſtituted part of the ſea. When the Spaniards diſcovered it, they found few inhabitants there, little cultivation, and no metals, in conſequence of which it was deſpiſed. They afterwards found that the trees which grew there were fit for dying, upon

[a] 3,312,500 l.

which

which they built the town of Campeachy, which became the mart of this valuable production, that gave it its name.

If this tree were not so thick, it would not be unlike the white thorn. Its leaves are small and of a pale green. The inside, at first red, becomes black after the tree has been felled some time. It is only the heart of this tree that gives the black and the violet colour.

CAMPEACHY was indebted to the single traffic of this article, for the advantage it possessed of being a very considerable market. It received every year several vessels, whose cargoes were distributed in the inland countries, and which took in return wood and metals which this circulation drew thither. This prosperity was continually augmenting till the time that the English settled at Jamaica.

AMIDST the vast numbers of those pirates which every day issued from this island, that was become famous, several were to cruise in the bay of Campeachy, to intercept the vessels which sailed there. These robbers knew so little of the value of the wood, which was the only production of the country, that when they found barks laden with it, they took away nothing but the iron utensils. One of them having carried off a large vessel which had nothing else but the logwood on board, brought it into the Thames, designing only to equip it as a privateer; when, contrary to his expectation, he sold at a very great price the wood of which he made so little account, that he had always burnt it during his voyage. From this discovery, the pirates, who were not successful at sea, never failed to repair to the river of Champeton, where they put on board the piles of wood which were always found ranged on the shore.

THE peace of the English with Spain, having put a stop to the depredations of these pirates, several of them employed

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employed themſelves in cutting Indian wood. Cape Catoche furniſhed them at firſt with abundance. As ſoon as they perceived it diminiſh, they went to ſettle between Tobaſco and the river of Champeton, about lake Triſta, and in Beef iſland which is very near it. In 1675 their numbers amounted to two hundred and ſixty. Their ardour, which at firſt was extreme, ſoon relaxed. The habit of idleneſs prevailed. As the greateſt part of them were excellent ſhooters, the chace became their predominant paſſion; and their former inclination to plunder was rekindled in them by this exerciſe. They ſoon began to make invaſions into the Indian towns, the inhabitants of which they carried off. The women they appointed to wait on them, and the men they ſold at Jamaica or other iſlands. The Spaniard was rouſed from his lethargy by theſe enormities, ſurpriſed them in the midſt of their debaucheries, and carried them off. Moſt of them were even taken in their cottages, they were led priſoners to Mexico, where they ended their days in the mines.

THOSE who eſcaped, took refuge in the gulf of Honduras, where they were joined by ſome wandering freebooters of North America. In proceſs of time they increaſed to fifteen hundred men. The free independence, and plentiful manner in which they lived, rendered the marſhy country they inhabited agreeable to them. Strong intrenchments ſecured their lives and their proviſions; and they confined themſelves to employments, which their unhappy companions lamented that they had ever neglected. They only took care not to penetrate into the interior part of the country to cut wood without being well armed.

THEIR induſtry was crowned with the greateſt ſucceſs. In reality, the tun of wood which had been ſold as high as nine hundred livres [b], was gradually fallen to a very

[b] 39l. 7s. 6d.

low

low price, but what was loſt in the price, was compenſated by the greater quantity that was ſold. The cutters delivered up the produce of their labours, either to the people of Jamaica, who brought them Madeira wine, ſtrong liquors, linens, cloaths, or to the Engliſh colonies of North America, which ſupplied them with the proviſions. This commerce, which was always carried on by ſmugglers, and which was the object of ſo much clamour, became lawful in 1763. The liberty of cutting wood was ſecured to Great Britain, but ſhe was not permitted to raiſe forts, and was even obliged to deſtroy thoſe which had been built. The court of Madrid ſeldom hath made any conceſſions with greater regret than this of eſtabliſhing in the center of its poſſeſſions, an active, powerful, and ambitious nation. But there is a method to render even this conceſſion almoſt uſeleſs.

The province of Jucatan is divided from north-eaſt to ſouth-weſt, that is, throughout almoſt its whole extent, by a chain of mountains. To the north of theſe mountains is the bay of Campeachy, whoſe dry and thirſty ſoil produces a wood of a ſingular quality, which is ſold at all markets at near double the price of that which the Engliſh cut at the ſouthern bay of Honduras, where the rich and almoſt marſhy ſoil produces only a baſtard kind, and which yields much leſs dye. If, as the expreſſions of the treaty, which admit of ſome latitude in their meaning, lead us to apprehend, great Britain hath acquired only the right of ſettling in thoſe places which its ſubjects had uſurped, Spain may put an end to her uneaſineſs on this point, by encouraging the cutting of its own wood which is more valuable, in ſuch a manner as to furniſh all Europe with enough for their conſumption. By this judicious policy, ſhe will ruin the Engliſh colony, and without force get rid of a neighbour much more dangerous than ſhe imagines;

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gines; ſhe will then regain an important branch of trade, which for a long time hath been ſo conſiderably reduced, that Campeachy receives from the mother country no more than a ſingle veſſel every three or four years. What this does not bring away is carried off by ſmall veſſels to Vera-Cruz, which is the true point of union between Mexico and Spain.

Old Vera-Cruz ſerved at firſt for a mart. This town, built and founded by Cortez, on the very ſpot where he landed, is ſituated on a river, which is dry one part of the year, but which in the rainy ſeaſon is capable of receiving the largeſt veſſels. The danger to which they were expoſed in a ſituation where nothing defended them againſt the violence of the winds ſo common in theſe latitudes, indulged the ſeamen to ſeek for more ſecure ſhelter; which they found eighteen miles lower down on the ſame coaſt. There they built new Vera Cruz ſeventy two leagues diſtance from the capital of Mexico.

New Vera-Cruz is ſituated in a climate rendered diſagreeable by a burning ſun and by the exceſſive heats, or unwholeſome by the continual rains. Dry ſands bound it on the north, and infectious marſhes on the weſt. Its ſtreets are ſtraight, but the houſes are built of wood. No nobility are to be met with here, and the merchants always prefer living at Angelos. The ſmall number of Spaniards, who are fixed here either by avarice or by indigence in ſo wretched and dangerous a place, live in a privacy and with a parſimony that are unknown in all other commercial places.

The fortifications of the town conſiſt of a wall, eight towers erected at certain diſtances, and two baſtions which command the ſhore. Theſe works, weak in themſelves and ill conſtructed, are in an extremely ruinous ſtate; ſo that for the defence of the place they depend only on the fortreſs of St. Juan de Ulloa, that is

built

built on a rock, fronting the town, and at the diſtance of a mile from it.

THIS harbour has the diſadvantage of not being able to hold more than thirty or thirty-five veſſels, which are not always ſheltered from the northern winds. The entrance into it is by two canals only, which are ſo narrow, as to admit but one ſhip. The approaches alſo are rendered ſo dangerous by ſeveral ſmall iſlands, which the Spaniards call Cayos, and by a great number of rocks between wind and water, almoſt imperceptible. Theſe obſtacles which they deemed inſurmountable, except by a perfect knowledge of the ſpot acquired after many years experience, having been overcome by certain deſperate pirates, who ſurpriſed the place in 1712, towers were conſtructed on the ſhore, where vigilant ſentinels continually keep guard for the common ſafety.

IT is into this wretched harbour, which is properly the only one there is in the gulf, that the fleet arrives, whoſe deſtination is to furniſh Mexico with European merchandiſe. It is fitted out at Cadiz every two, three, or four years, according as occaſions and circumſtances require. It ordinarily conſiſts of fifteen or twenty merchant ſhips, and is eſcorted by two men of war, or a greater number, if requiſite.

WINES, brandies, and oils, conſtitute the moſt bulky part of the cargo. Gold and ſilver ſtuffs, gold and ſilver lace, cloths, linen, ſilks, laces, hats, jewels, diamonds, and ſpices compoſe the richeſt part.

THE fleet ſets out from Europe in the month of July, but at the lateſt in the beginning of Auguſt, in order to avoid the dangers which it would incur from the violence of the north wind in the open ſea, eſpecially at the landing places, if it ſet ſail in any other ſeaſon. In its paſſage it takes in refreſhments at Porto Rico, and repairs to Vera Cruz, from whence its cargo

is

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is carried to Xalapa. In this town, which is ſituated twelve leagues from the harbour on the back of a mountain, and commodiouſly built, is held a fair, which is limited by the laws to ſix weeks, but which ſometimes is prolonged at the ſolicitation of the merchants of the country or thoſe of Spain. The proportion of metals to merchandiſe is what determines the gain or loſs of exchanges. If one of theſe objects is in greater abundance than the other, great prejudice reſults to the ſeller or buyer. Formerly the royal treaſure was ſent from the capital to Vera-Cruz, to wait the arrival of the fleet there; but ſince this key of the new world was pillaged by pirates in 1683, it waits the arrival of the ſhips and ſtops at Angelos, which is only thirty-five leagues diſtant.

When the buſineſs is finiſhed, the gold, ſilver, cochineal, leather, vanilla, logwood, and ſome goods of inconſiderable value which Mexico furniſhes, are put on board. The fleet then directs its courſe for the Havanna, where after being joined by ſome regiſter ſhips diſpatched to different ports, it arrives at Cadiz by the channel of Bahama.

In the interval between the one fleet and the other, the court of Spain ſends out two men of war which they call Azogues, to carry to Vera-Cruz the quickſilver that is neceſſary for working the mines of Mexico. The quickſilver was originally drawn from Peru; but the commiſſions were ſo uncertain, ſo ſlow, and ſo frequently attended with fraud, that in 1734 it was judged to be more convenient to ſend it from Europe. The mines of Guadalcanal at firſt furniſhed them with the means. Theſe were afterwards forſaken for the richer mines of Almeda in Eſtramadura. The Azogues, to which they ſometimes join two or three merchant ſhips, which can only carry the fruits of Spain, are laden in return with the produce of thoſe goods that have been ſold

ſince

since the departure of the fleet, or of those which had been delivered on credit.

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If any arrears still remain, they are commonly brought back by the ships of war which Spain builds at the Havannah, and which always pass to Vera-Cruz, before they set sail for Europe. Affairs are conducted in a different manner at Peru, as will be shewn in the subsequent book.

END OF THE SIXTH BOOK.

BOOK VII.

BOOK VII.

Conquest of Peru by the Spaniards. Changes that have happened in this Empire since that change of government.

BOOK VII.

COLUMBUS was no sooner firmly established in the island of San Domingo than he prosecuted his discoveries. In one of his voyages he discovered the Oronooko, and in the other the bay of Honduras. He clearly saw that what he had found was a continent, and his genius led him further than merely to suspect that beyond this continent was another ocean, which must terminate at the East Indies. It was possible that these two seas might have a mutual communication, and he studiously employed himself to find it out. In order to make this discovery, he sailed along the coast as near as he could. He touched at all places which were accessible; and contrary to the customs of the navigators of his time, who behaved in the countries where they arrived in such a manner as if they were never to revisit them, he treated the inhabitants with equity, attention, and humanity, which procured him their affection. The isthmus of Darien particularly engaged his observation. He thought that the rivers, which poured into it, were an arm of the great ocean, which united by a narrow strait, the seas of South and North America, and therefore seemed to open to his wishes the passage and communication he was in search of. After he had explored these rivers with extreme attention,

Expeditions that preceded the discovery of Peru.

tention, and found himself disappointed in his expectations, he contented himself with founding a colony. The pride, mercenary disposition, and imprudence of his companions, inspired the natives of the country with the utmost hatred, who at first appeared tolerably well disposed to permit this establishment. They were obliged to reimbark and sail away in vessels which were not in a condition to keep the sea any longer.

The intelligence however which was obtained was not entirely lost. Vespucius, Ojeda, Lacosa, Pinçon, Roldan, Nino, Lopez, Bastidos, Solis, and Nicuessa, followed the path which Columbus had traced out for them. These adventurers, who had only received from government a permission to make discoveries, in order to satisfy the vain glory of the nation rather than to extend its dominions, thought neither of establishing colonies which they might cultivate, nor forming commercial connections with the petty nations which they discovered. The prospect of remote fortunes which might have been made by these prudent measures, was too much above the prejudices of these barbarous times. Even the reasoning which might have led them to the knowledge of these advantages, would not have imparted sufficient impulse to animate them. Nothing but the allurement of immediate gain could stimulate men to undertakings so hazardous as were those for which this age was distinguished. Gold alone attracted them to the continent of America, and made them brave dangers, diseases and death, which they were exposed to in the course of their voyage, at their arrival, or their return; and by a terrible but just vengeance, the European barbarity and lust of gold, exhausted at once the two hemispheres of their inhabitants, and destruction raged equally among those who were the plunderers and assassins, as among the plundered people.

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Among the number of villains, who ravaged, depopulated, and destroyed these unhappy coasts of a world which was no sooner discovered than it was exterminated, there was one man who had naturally an agreeable aspect, a robust constitution, an intrepid courage, and a popular eloquence, and who had imbibed some good principles from a liberal education. His name was Vasco Nugnes de Balboa. Finding at Darien, where there was greater plenty of riches than in other places, a small number of Spaniards, whom this circumstance alone had attracted there, he put himself at their head, with the design of forming a permanent settlement. He found at first in the country some of that same species of little white men, as are to be met with in Africa and in certain of the Asiatic islands. They are covered with a down of a glistening white colour. They have no hair; and their eyes are red. They only see well in the night time. They are feeble, and their faculties appear to be more circumscribed than those of other men. These savages were few in number; but others of a different species were found on the coast. These were brave and hardy enough to defend their liberty. They had a very extraordinary custom among them, which was, that the husbands on the death of their wives, and the wives on the death of their husbands, used to cut off the end of a finger; so that by looking on their hands one might see whether they were widowers or widows, and how often they had been so.

Nothing has ever been or will probably ever be said, that can satisfactorily explain the various perversions of human reason. If the women alone had been obliged to cut off a finger at the decease of their husbands, it would be natural to suspect that they had purposed hereby to prevent a widow from fraudulently palming herself for a virgin on a second husband who might have had no knowledge of her former connection,

tion, a thing very feasible among wandering nations. But this conjecture would be groundless, when applied to the case of husbands, whose condition could never be mended with such great inconveniences, as that they should have studied to indicate it by indelible signs. This custom hath obtained in other countries; but the following is peculiar to Darien.

WHEN a widow died, they interred in the same grave such of her children, whose tender age rendered it impossible for them to provide for their own subsistence. As nobody would take the charge of these orphans, they butchered them to prevent their being starved to death. The charity of these barbarians extended no further. This is the greatest enormity, to which the most deplorable state of savage life was ever able to impel mankind.

NOTWITHSTANDING the ferocity of these barbarians, Balboa succeeded in dispersing the inhabitants of Darien, in subjecting them or gaining their confidence, and he settled his countrymen on their territory.

ONE day as he was dividing some gold with one of his companions, a contest arose between them. A savage, incensed at a rapaciousness so repugnant to his manners, shook the scales so violently, that he overset all the gold that was in them. *Since you quarrel for such a trifle*, said he to the two Spaniards, *and it is this metal which has made you quit your country, and harass so many nations, I will lead you to a place, where you shall be satisfied.* He fulfilled his engagement, and conducted Balboa, with one hundred and fifty Spaniards, across a neck of land sixteen or seventeen leagues long to the coast of the South Sea.

PANAMA, which was built there in 1518, opened a new and extensive career, to the restlessness and avarice of the Castillians. The ocean, which washed its walls conveyed them to Peru, whose riches were boasted of

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in this part of the new world, though but in a vague manner. The reports that prevailed concerning the ſtrength of this immenſe empire did not caſt a damp upon that ardour which its treaſures excited; and the world ſaw without aſtoniſhment three men, born in obſcurity, undertake at their own expence to ſubvert a throne that had ſubſiſted with glory for ſeveral centuries.

FRANCIS PIZARRO, who is the moſt known among them, was the natural ſon of a gentleman of Eſtramadura. His education had been ſo neglected that he could not read. Tending of flocks, which was his firſt employment, not ſuiting his character, he embarked for the new world. His avarice and ambition inſpired him with a boundleſs activity. He was in every expedition, and ſignalized himſelf in moſt of them; and he acquired in the ſeveral ſituations in which he was employed, that knowledge of men and things, which is indiſpenſably neceſſary to advancement, but in particulars to thoſe who by their birth have every difficulty to ſtruggle with. The uſe he had hitherto made of his natural and moral abilities, perſuaded him that nothing was above his talents, and he formed the plan of exerting them againſt Peru.

To theſe deſigns he aſſociated Diego de Almagro, whoſe birth was equivocal, but whoſe courage was proved. He had ever been found temperate, patient, and indefatigable in thoſe camps in which he had grown old. In this ſchool he had acquired a frankneſs which is oftener learnt here than in other ſituations; as well as that obduracy and cruelty which are but too common.

THE fortune of two ſoldiers, though conſiderable, being found inſufficient to the conqueſt they meditated, they joined themſelves to Fernand de Luques. He was a mercenary prieſt, who had amaſſed prodigious wealth by all the methods which ſuperſtition renders eaſy to his

the profession, and by some breaths peculiar to the manners of that age.

Upon the basis of their association the confederates mutually agreed, that each should engage his whole effects in this enterprize, that the wealth acquired from it should be equally shared, and that they should reciprocally observe an inviolable fidelity. The parts that each was to act in this great scene, were distributed as the good of the common cause required. Pizarro was to command the troops, Almagro conduct the succours, and Luques prepare the means. This plan of ambition, avarice, and sacrilegious fraud, was completed by fanaticism. Luques publicly consecrated a host, part of which he ate, and divided the rest between his two associates, all three swearing by the blood of their God, that to enrich themselves, they would not spare the blood of any Indian whatsoever.

This expedition commenced under these horrible auspices, was not fortunate; the measures being continually interrupted by famine, sickness, and misunderstanding, by a profound ignorance of the theory of the winds and currents, and by the arms of the Indians, they found themselves reduced to the necessity of returning without having effected any establishment, or done any thing worthy of being transmitted to posterity. At the end of 1526, Panama received the wrecks of an armament, which two years before had excited its jealousy.

Far from being discouraged by these calamities, the three associates were fired with a more vehement passion of possessing treasures which were now better known to them. They imagined that they should at last assuredly acquire them, if they could disengage themselves from a dependence on the governor of Panama, who had opposed them, sometimes openly, at other times clandestinely. The court of Spain granted them what they solicited, and their audacity now took a higher

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flight. In 1530 they fitted out three vessels, on board of which they embarked one hundred fourscore and five soldiers, thirty seven horses, arms, and ammunition. These forces, which were successively augmented by some feeble reinforcements, were commanded by Pizarro, who after a series of extreme difficulties which his intrepid avarice surmounted, at last arrived at Tumbez on the frontiers of Peru.

State of Peru when it was discovered.

If the Spaniards may be credited, Peru had been an extensive and civilized empire for four centuries. It was founded by Manco-Capac, and by his wife Mama-Ocello Huaco. It has been conjectured that these two persons might be the descendents of certain navigators of Europe or the Canaries, who were shipwrecked on the coasts of Brasil.

To support this conjecture, it has been said that the Peruvians divided the year as we do into three hundred and sixty-five days, and that they had some notion of astronomy; that they were acquainted with the points of the horizon where the sun sets in the summer and winter solstice, and in the equinoxes; marks which the Spaniards destroyed as being monuments of Indian superstition. It has been asserted, that the race of the Incas was whiter than the natives of the country, and that several of the royal family had beards; but it is a known fact, that there are certain features, whether ill formed or irregular, that are preserved in some families, though they do not constantly pass from generation to generation. And lastly, it has been said, that it was a tradition generally diffused throughout Peru, and handed down from age to age, that there would one day arrive by sea men with beards, and of such superiority in arms, that nothing could resist them.

If there should be any of our readers disposed to adopt this opinion, they must necessarily allow that there must have elapsed a considerable space of time between the

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shipwreck, and the foundation of the Peruvian empire. Without supposing this immense interval, would not the legislator have given the savages whom he collected together, some notion of writing, though he should not himself have been able to read? Would he not have taught them several of our arts and methods of doing things? Would he not have instructed them in certain tenets of his religion? Either it was not an European who founded the throne of the Incas, or we must necessarily believe that the vessel of his ancestors was wrecked on the coasts of America at an æra so remote, that the succeeding generations must have forgotten all the customs of the place from whence they sprang.

It was on an hilly country that Manco at first established his dominion. Perhaps, he found there people less barbarous, better disposed to receive instruction, and who had already begun to be civilized. It is far from being improbable that society forms much more slowly in countries that are fruitful and abounding in vegetables, than in those to which nature has been less bountiful. It is the want men have of assistance from each other, that more strongly induces them to unite in society; and this reciprocal dependence is more sensibly felt on barren mountains, than in fruitful plains.

These two legislators declared themselves the children of the sun. Undoubtedly they thought that this prejudice would animate the Peruvians, rouse their courage, and inspire them with a greater attachment to their country, and more submission to the laws. Was this fiction more absurd than those which have been so warmly embraced by some celebrated nations, which still are our guides and our models?

By the aid of this deceit the empire of the Incas had flourished under eleven sovereigns, who were all prudent, humane and just, when the emperor Huana Capac seized upon Quito. In order to secure the possession of it, he married

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married the only daughter of the deceased king, from whom he had a son named Atabalipa. This young prince, after the death of his father, demanded the succession of his brother. His elder brother Huascar refused to pay him the respect which they had resolved in a general assembly. The most ambitious of the two brothers was soon taken prisoner, and shut up in Cuzco, where he was afterwards strangled. His happy rival, now elevated above his most sanguine expectations, found himself master of all the provinces.

These troubles, which for the first time had agitated Peru, were not entirely appeased, when the Spaniards landed in the empire. Those people who were willing to appease the Sun, whom they believed was incensed against them, looked upon these strangers with presents, offered them the kindest offices, and manifested a respect for them which bordered on adoration. In that confusion in which the whole kingdom was still involved, nobody thought of opposing Pizarro's march, who arrived without the least obstruction at the palace of Caxamalca. He was but just arrived, when he received from Atabalipa, who was not far distant, fruits, cotton, embroideries, and several vases of gold and silver. This reception which the court gave to his brother Fernando, encouraged him with these advances. They were profuse in civilities, and lavished treasures, and marks of distinction upon him. The emperor however did not dissemble his desire that the Spaniards would quit his provinces, and he publicly declared that he would go the next morning to concert with their chief proper measures for this retreat.

To prepare for battle without suffering the least preparation of war to be perceived, was the only disposition that Pizarro made for the reception of the prince. He planted his cavalry in the gardens of the palace, where they could not be seen: the infantry was in the court, and

his artillery was pointed towards the gate where the emperor was to enter.

ATAHUALPA came without suspicion to the place appointed. He was attended by about fifteen hundred men. He was carried on a throne of gold, and gold glittered in the ornaments of his person. His chief officers, and part of his troops, followed him.

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They were now pretty near the palace, which was occupied by Pizarro, when a dominican, named Vincent de Valverde, with a crucifix in one hand, and his breviary in the other, came up to the emperor. He stopped him in his march, and, by his interpreter, made him a long speech, in which he expounded to him the christian religion, pressed him to embrace this code of truths, and proposed to him to submit to the king of Spain, to whom the pope had given Peru.

The emperor, who had heard him with a great deal of impatience, replied, I am very willing to be the friend of the king of Spain, but not his vassal; the pope must certainly be a very extraordinary man, to give so liberally what does not belong to him. I shall not change my religion for another; and if the christians adore a God who died upon a cross, I worship the sun who never dies. He then asked Vincent where he learnt all that he had just said of God and the creation. *In this book*, replied the monk, presenting at the same time his breviary to the emperor. Atahalipa took the book, examined it on all sides, fell a laughing, and throwing away the breviary, added, *This book tells me nothing of all this.* Vincent then turned towards the Spaniards, crying out with all his might, *Vengeance, my friends, vengeance. Christians, do you not see how he despises the gospel? Kill these dogs, who trample under foot the law of God.*

THE Spaniards, who probably had with difficulty restrained that fury, and that thirst of blood which the sight of the gold and of the infidels had inspired them with,

BOOK VII. with, and only obeyed the dominican. Let the reader judge of the impression that must have been made on the Peruvians by the sight of the horses who trampled upon them, and by the noise and effect of the cannon and musketry which beat them down. These wretches fled with such precipitation, that they fell one upon another. A dreadful slaughter was made of them. Pizarro himself advanced towards the emperor, made his infantry put to the sword all that surrounded his throne, took the monarch prisoner, and pursued all the rest of the day those who had escaped the sword of his soldiers. A multitude of princes of the race of the Incas, the ministers, the flower of the nobility, all that composed the court of Atabalipa, were massacred. They did not even spare that prodigious crowd of women, old men, and children, who were come from all parts to see their emperor and the Spaniards. Whilst this carnage continued, Vincent could not animate the assassins who were tired with slaughter, exhorting them to use not the edge but the point of their swords, in order to inflict deeper wounds. When the Spaniards returned from this atrocious butchery, they passed the night in drunkenness, dancing, and all the excesses of debauchery.

In the mean time Pizarro's thoughts were engaged in contriving how he should get rid of his prisoner. Vincent said that he was an hardened prince, that ought to be treated like Pharaoh. There was in the train of the Spanish general, an Indian who had embraced the christian faith. His name was Philipillo, and he was employed as interpreter. They pitched upon him to frame an accusation against the emperor for having designed to raise his subjects against the tyrants. On this sole deposition, Atabalipa was condemned to death. They had the effrontery to try him with all the forms, and this atrocious farce was followed with those horrid consequences, that must necessarily be expected from it.

AFTER

After this judiciary assassination, Pizarro penetrated into the inland parts of the empire. Cuſco opened to him its gates, and offered him more treaſures, than there perhaps were in all Europe before the diſcovery of the new world. Theſe treaſures became the ſpoil of two hundred Spaniards, who, though maſters of ſuch immenſe riches, ſought for more, impelled by that thirſt of gold which increaſes in proportion as it is gratified. Temples and private houſes were ſtripped from one end of the kingdom to the other. The Peruvians were oppreſſed in all parts, and rapes committed every where on their wives and daughters.

The people driven to deſperation took up arms, and laid ſiege at once to Cuſco and Lima: but theſe unhappy wretches in ſeveral engagements were not able to kill more than ſix hundred of their enemies; who continually receiving freſh ſupplies, were at laſt univerſally victorious. In a little time the Spaniards in Peru amounted to the number of three thouſand muſketeers, without reckoning pikemen, archers, and cavalry. The Peruvians were under a neceſſity of ſubmitting to the yoke, ſuch as the tyrants choſe to impoſe on them.

So remarkable a revolution hath been a ſubject of amazement to all nations. Peru is a country very difficult of acceſs, where one muſt continually climb mountains, and perpetually march in narrow paſſes and defiles. One is there obliged to be inceſſantly paſſing and repaſſing torrents and rivers, the banks of which are always ſteep. Four or five thouſand men, with a moderate ſhare of courage and underſtanding, would deſtroy the moſt numerous and beſt diſciplined armies. How could it then poſſibly happen that a whole nation did not even attempt to diſpute a country, the nature of which was ſo well known to them, againſt a few plunderers who had not the leaſt idea of it?



The reason is, because fear is the child of ignorance and impotence; because a disorderly multitude can do nothing against a small number of disciplined forces, and because courage unarmed cannot resist cannon shot. Thus without having recourse to that vain prophecy, which proclaimed the Spaniards as the avengers of the Gods, Peru must necessarily have been subdued, even though the domestic dissentions with which it was then agitated, had not facilitated their subjection.

The empire which now received the Spanish yoke had been governed for four centuries, or perhaps more, by a race of conquerors, who appeared to have conquered only for the happiness of the human species. They descended from a legislator, who could not perhaps have been paralleled in history, if Confucius had not had one advantage over him, that of having no occasion to recur to superstition, to insure allegiance and obedience to his laws.

Manco Capac, who collected together the savages of Peru, that were scattered among the forests, styled himself the offspring of the sun, who was sent by his father to teach men to be good and happy. He persuaded a great number of savages to adhere to him, and he founded the city of Cusco.

He taught his new subjects to cultivate the ground, to sow corn and pulse, to wear cloaths, and build houses. His wife taught the Indian women to spin, to smooth cotton and wools; and instructed them in all the exercises suitable to their sex, and in all the arts of domestic oeconomy.

He told them that they must adore the sun; he built temples to this luminary, and abolished human sacrifices, and even those of animals. His descendents were the only priests of his nation.

To a religion replete with humanity were joined parental laws. A most wise institution enjoined that a young

young man, who should commit a fault, should be slightly punished; but that his father should be responsible for him. Thus it was that sound morals were always inculcated by a good education. BOOK VII.

POLYGAMY was prohibited, and adultery in both sexes punished. No one was allowed to have concubines but the emperor, because the race of the sun could not be too much multiplied. These concubines were selected from among the virgins consecrated to the temple.

IDLENESS was punished as the source of wickedness, and therefore as the greatest of crimes. Those whom age and debility incapacitated for labour, were maintained at the public charge; but on condition that they should preserve the lands that are sown from the devastation of birds. Every one was obliged to make his own shoes, manage his own house, and construct his plough. Women made the apparel, and every single family knew how to supply its own wants.

THE Peruvians were enjoined to love one another, and every circumstance led them to it. Those common labours, which were always enlivened by agreeable songs; the object itself of these labours, which was to assist every one who had occasion for their succour; that apparel that was made by young women devoted to the worship of the sun, and distributed by the emperor's officers to the poor, to the aged, and to orphans; the union which must reign in those decuries, where every one was mutually inspired with respect for the laws, and with the love of virtue, because the punishments that were inflicted for the faults of one individual, fell on the whole body; that custom of regarding each other as members of one single family, which was the empire; all these manners maintained among the Peruvians concord, benevolence, patriotism, and a certain public spirit, and contributed as much as possible to substitute

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the most sublime and amiable virtues, in lieu of personal interest, of the spirit of property, and of the usual incentives employed by other legislators.

THESE virtues were rewarded with marks of distinction, as much as if they had been services rendered to the country. Those who had signalized themselves by an exemplary conduct, or by any distinguished actions of utility to the public good, wore as a mark of decoration cloaths wrought by the family of the Incas. It is very probable that those statues, which the Spaniards pretended that they found in the temples of the sun, and which they took for idols, were the statues of men, who by the greatness of their talents, or by a life replete with illustrious actions, had merited the homage or love of their fellow-citizens.

SUCH great men were also the customary subjects of poems composed by the family of the Incas for the instruction of the people.

THERE was another species of poetry conducive to morality. At Cusco, and in all the other towns of Peru, tragedies and comedies were represented. The first were lessons of duty to the priests, warriors, judges, and people of distinction, and were held up to them as models of public virtue. Comedies served for instruction to persons of inferior rank, and taught them the exercise of private virtues, and even of domestic oeconomy.

THE whole state was distributed into decuries, with an officer that was appointed to superintend ten families that were intrusted to him. A superior officer had the same inspection over fifty families, others over a hundred, five hundred, and a thousand.

THE decurions, and the other superintending officers up to the superintendant of a thousand, were obliged to give an account to the latter of all actions whether good or bad, to follicit punishments and rewards

wards for each, and to give information if there was any want of provisions, cloaths, and corn for the year. The superintendant of a thousand made his report to the minister of the Inca.

All the laws were severe, but this severity was attended only with good effects. The Peruvians were strangers to crimes. All their laws were reputed to come to them from the sun, which threw light upon their actions. Thus the violation of a law became a sacrilege. They even went of their own accord to reveal their most secret faults, and to sollicit permission to expiate them. They told the Spaniards, that there never had been one man of the family of the Incas, that had deserved punishment.

The lands of the kingdom, that were susceptible of cultivation, were divided into three parts, one appropriated to the sun, another to the Inca, and the third to the people. The first were cultivated in common, as were likewise the lands of orphans, widows, old men, the infirm, and the soldiers who were with the army. These were cultivated immediately after the lands appropriated to the sun, and before those of the emperor. The time for this duty was announced by festivals: it was begun and continued with the sound of musical instruments, and the chanting of hymns.

The emperor levied no tribute, and exacted nothing from his subjects, but the cultivation of his lands; the whole produce of which, being deposited in public magazines, was adequate to all the charges of the empire.

The lands, dedicated to the sun, provided for the maintenance of the priests and for the expence of consecrating those magnificent temples whose inside was incrusted with gold, and whose roofs were of silver.

With regard to the lands, that were in the hands of individuals, they were neither hereditary, nor even

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eſtates for life: the diviſion of them was continually varying, and was regulated with ſtrict equity according to the number of heads which compoſed every family. There was no other wealth, but what aroſe from the produce of the fields, the temporary enjoyment of which was all that was granted by the ſtate.

THIS cuſtom of moveable poſſeſſions has been univerſally cenſured by intelligent people. It has been their general opinion, that a nation would never riſe to any ſtrength, and to any greatneſs, but by fixed, and even hereditary property. If it were not for the firſt of theſe means, we ſhould ſee on the globe only wandering and naked ſavages, wretched by ſubſiſting on ſuch fruits and vegetables, as are the ſole and ſcanty production of rude nature. If it were not for the ſecond, every individual would live only for himſelf; mankind would be deprived of every permanent advantage, that paternal affection, the love of a family name, and the inexpreſſible conſciouſneſs that we feel in benefiting poſterity, urge us to purſue. The ſyſtem of ſome bold ſpeculatiſts, who have regarded property, and particularly that ſpecies of it which is hereditary, as an uſurpation of certain members of ſociety over others, is refuted by the fate of all thoſe inſtitutions, where their principles have been reduced to practice. They have all miſerably periſhed, after having languiſhed for ſome time in a ſtate of depopulation and anarchy. Peru alone hath proſpered on ſo uncertain a baſis.

THE reaſon probably is, that the Incas not knowing the uſe of impoſts, and having only the commodities of nature to ſupply the neceſſities of government, muſt have been obliged to ſtudy how to multiply them. They were ſeconded in the execution of this project by their miniſters, by inferior officers, and by the ſoldiers themſelves, who received nothing but the fruits of the earth for their ſubſiſtence and the ſupport

port of their rank. Hence so much solicitude to augment them. This attention might have for its principal object, the introduction of plants into the lands of their sovereign: but his patrimony was so mixed and confounded with that of his subjects, that it was not possible to fertilize the one without fertilizing the other. The people encouraged by these advantages, which left little scope to their industry, applied themselves to labours, which the nature of their soil, of their climate, and of their consumptions rendered very easy. But notwithstanding all these advantages, notwithstanding the ever active vigilance of the magistrate; notwithstanding the certainty, that they should never see their harvests ravaged by a restless neighbour; the Peruvians never raised themselves above the mere necessaries of life. We may venture to assert that they would have acquired the means of diversifying and extending their enjoyments, if their talents had been excited by the introduction of rented, transferable and hereditary property.

The Peruvians, though at the very source of gold and silver, knew not the use of coin. They had neither commerce nor luxury; and the more minute arts, which owe their existence to the immediate wants of social life, were in a very imperfect state among them. They had not even hieroglyphics, which among all nations were the first essays towards writing; and their *quippos*, which supplied the place of writing among them, were not so good as the hieroglyphics of the Mexicans, nor even as those of the Iroquois.

But the Peruvians being without property, without trade, and almost without the relation of mutual interest, governed moreover by masters, whose will framed all those transitory laws, which regulated their manners, had scarcely any occasion for writing. All their sciences consisted in memory, and all their arts in example. They learnt their religion and

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their history by songs, and their duties and professions by labour and imitation.

THEIR legislation was undoubtedly very imperfect and limited, since it supposed the prince always just and infallible, and the magistrates as perfect as the prince. Among a civilized people, who had not the art of writing, the laws must have been fatal, when their manner did not determine the application and use of them; when not only the monarch, but his officers, a superintendant of ten, of an hundred, of a thousand, might change at his pleasure the destination of punishments and rewards. Among such a people, the wisest laws being destitute of all precision and stability, must insensibly change, nor would there remain a possibility of bringing them back to their primitive character.

THE counterbalance of these dangers was found in their absolute ignorance of gold and silver coin; an ignorance, which in a Peruvian despot rendered the fatal phrenzy of amassing riches impossible. It was found in the constitution of the empire, which had determined the amount of the sovereign's revenue, by determining the portion of lands which belonged to him. It was found in the extremely small number and moderate nature of their wants, which being easily gratified, rendered the people happy and attached to the government. It was found in the influence of their religious opinions, which made the observation of the laws a matter of conscience. Thus was the despotism of the Incas founded on a mutual confidence, between the sovereign and the people; a confidence, which resulted from the beneficence of the prince, from the constant protection he granted to all his subjects, and from the evident interest they had in preserving their obedience to him.

A PYRRHONISM, which hath succeeded to a blind credulity, and hath been sometimes carried to unjustifiable lengths, hath for some time endeavoured to throw a

cloud

cloud over what has been just related of the laws, manners, and happiness of antient Peru. This picture hath appeared to some philosophers as chimerical, and formed only by the naturally romantic imagination of a few Spaniards. But among the destroyers of this distinguished part of the new world, was there a single ruffian capable of inventing a fable so consistent in all its parts? Was there any among them humane enough to wish to do it, should he have been capable of the task? Would he not have been restrained by the fear of augmenting that hatred, which so many devastations had brought on his country throughout the whole world? Would not the fable have been contradicted by a multitude of witnesses, who would have seen the contrary of what was published with so much pomp? The unanimous testimony of cotemporary writers, and of their immediate successors, ought to be regarded as the strongest historical demonstration that can possibly be desired.

The case is not the same in regard to those exaggerated relations, which the conquerors of Peru published concerning the grandeur and magnificence of the monuments of all kinds that they found there. The desire of adding greater splendor to the glory of their triumphs, might perhaps blind them. Perhaps, without being convinced themselves, they studied to impose on their own country and on foreign nations. The first testimonies, and those even were contradictory, have been invalidated by succeeding accounts, and at last totally destroyed, when intelligent persons travelled in this celebrated part of the new hemisphere.

We must therefore consider as fabulous the report of that prodigious multitude of towns built with so much labour and expence. If there were so many superb cities in Peru, why do none exist, except Cusco and Quito, but those the conqueror built? Whence comes it that we do

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not find even the ruins of any of those, of which such pompous descriptions have been published?

We must consider as fabulous the account of those majestic palaces destined for the accommodation of the Incas, in the place of their residence and in their travels. The royal mansions so pompously displayed, were nothing but flints placed one upon another, and covered with a reddish clay.

We must consider as fabulous the relation of those fortified places, which defended the frontiers of the empire. Would it have been conquered in so short a time, if it had been furnished with such considerable means of defence? M. de la Condamine, who visited with that scrupulous attention that distinguishes him, the fort of Cannar, which is the best preserved, and the most considerable next to that of Cusco, found it to be of very small extent, and only ten feet high. A people, who knew not the use of pullies, could hardly raise their buildings higher. They have not less exaggerated the size of the stones, that were employed in building their fortresses. After the most careful examination, there was not found any one of a size greater than common. When they wanted to transport these masses, they fastened cords to them, and a number of men, pushed, drew, and rolled the weight along. A nation which had made no greater progress in mechanics, could not execute any great things.

We must consider as fabulous the history of those reservoirs, and aqueducts, that are worthy, say they, of the antient Romans. Neither of them were ever to be found in Peru, unless we choose to honour with these magnificent names, certain trenches that were made wherever there was an opportunity on the declivity of hills, to collect rain or spring water, and conduct it into the fields and vallies.

We

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We muſt alſo conſider as fabulous the diſplay of thoſe ſuperb roads, which rendered the communication ſo eaſy. The great roads of Peru were nothing elſe but two rows of ſtakes diſpoſed in a line, and intended for no other purpoſe but to point out the way to travellers. There was no road of any conſequence, except that which bore the name of the Incas, and which traverſed the whole empire. This, which was the moſt beautiful monument of Peru, was entirely deſtroyed during the civil wars of the conquerors.

We muſt alſo conſider as fabulous what has been ſaid of thoſe bridges, which are ſo much boaſted of. How could the Peruvians raiſe ſtone bridges, who were ignorant of the method of conſtructing arches? But had they known this art, would not their want of lime have rendered it almoſt impracticable? It is certain, however, that the traveller was every moment ſtopped in his paſſage by a great number of torrents he met with among the mountains. To enable him to paſs theſe, they extended from one bank to the other a long cord of oſier, on which ſlid a baſket, that held at moſt four men. The number of cords was afterwards multiplied, and they fixed hurdles upon them, by which a greater number of people croſſed at the ſame time. The Spaniards, who ſeem born to deſtroy and not to build, have not failed to adopt ſo marvellous an invention.

We muſt alſo conſider as fabulous what hath been written on the ſignification of *quippos*. Theſe were, ſay the Spaniards, regiſters made of cords, in which, by means of different knots and different colours, they expreſſed every thing they wiſhed. The remembrance of any eſſential points of hiſtory, manners, and ceremonies, was perpetuated by knots; and ſmall ſtrings tied to the principal cords recalled to their minds circumſtances of leſs importance. Theſe memoirs were depoſited in the cuſtody of officers appointed

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by public authority, and an entire confidence was placed in their integrity. In reality, these singular annals exhibited no regular narrative, and could only serve for certain calculations, or for preserving the memory of some particular event.

The Spaniards do not deserve more credit, when they tell us of those baths that were made of silver and gold, as well as the pipes that supplied them; of those gardens full of trees, whose flowers were of silver and the fruit gold, and where the eye being deceived mistook art for nature; of those fields of maize, the stems of which were of silver, and the ears of gold; of those basso-relievos, in which the herbs and plants were so admirably exhibited, that whoever saw was tempted to gather them; of those dresses covered over with grains of gold more delicate than the seed of pearl, and the workmanship of which the ablest goldsmiths of Europe could not have equalled. We shall not say, that these works were not worthy to be preserved, because they never had an existence. If the Greek statuaries in their compositions had only employed precious metals, it is probable that few of the capital productions of Greece would have reached us. But if we may judge of what hath perished by what still remains, we may be certain that the Peruvians had made no progress in the art of designing. The vases which have escaped the ravages of time, will serve as a signal proof of the industry of the Indians to supply their want of iron tools, but they will never be monuments of their genius. Several figures of animals, and of insects in massive gold, which were long preserved in the treasure of Quito, were not more perfect. We cannot any longer judge of them, for they were melted down in 1740, in order to furnish succours for Carthagena, that was then besieged by the English; and there was not found in all Peru, a Spaniard curious enough to purchase a single piece at the bare weight.

From

From what has been ſaid, it appears clearly, that the Peruvians had made ſcarcely any advances in the abſtract ſciences; they even wanted words to expreſs moral or metaphyſical ideas. Moſt of the ſciences depend on the progreſs of the arts, and theſe on accidents which do not occur naturally but in a courſe of ſeveral centuries, and of which the greateſt part are loſt to people, who have no intercourſe with enlightened nations.

If we reduce all theſe accounts to the ſimple truth, we ſhall find that the Peruvians had arrived at the art of fuſing gold and ſilver; that they even poſſeſſed the ſecret, which is loſt in Europe, of giving copper a temper like to that we give to ſteel; but that, though they were acquainted with iron, they had never arrived at the knowledge of forging that metal, which is the very foundation of all arts. They never conceived the idea of burning bricks or tiles, the materials of which they had always at hand. They executed however things leſs commodious and more difficult. The view of torrents, which they ſaw hollowing out beds for themſelves in rocks, probably gave them the idea of cutting ſtones. With hatchets of flint, and inceſſant friction, they contrived to ſquare, to make them anſwer to each other, to give them the ſame height, and to join them without cement. Unhappily theſe inſtruments had not the ſame effect on wood, as they had upon ſtone. Thus it happened, that the ſame men who ſhaped granite, and who drilled the emerald, never knew how to join timber by mortiſes, tenons, and pins; it was faſtened to the walls only by ruſhes. The moſt remarkable buildings had only a covering of ſtraw, ſupported by poles, like the tents of our armies. They had only one floor, had no light but by the entrance, and conſiſted only of detached apartments, that had no communication with each other.

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BUT whatever were the arts, which the Spaniards found in the country of the Incas, they could not ſecure the empire from the ſway of its conquerors. A moment of reſiſtance longer, and, perhaps, the Peruvians had been free. The conquerors had differences to ſettle among themſelves, which did not admit of a diviſion of their forces.

Civil wars of the Spaniards after their conqueſt of Peru.

THE firſt intelligence of Pizarro's ſucceſs had no ſooner been carried to Panama, but Almagro, his principal aſſociate, ſet out with the utmoſt expedition with new adventurers to ſhare the treaſures, lands, and government of Peru. There was in this claim an equity, which the author of the diſcovery was not diſpoſed to perceive. From that time jealouſy and hatred took poſſeſſion of all their hearts. There were two chiefs, two parties, and two armies; and ſoon after, by means of a forced accommodation, two governments.

FROM the colliſion of theſe factions, neceſſarily reſulted troubles of a new kind. Civil wars commonly originate from tyranny and anarchy. A power without limits, and a liberty without reſtraint, muſt produce the ſame conſequences. The magiſtrate looks upon the people only as ſo many rebels to his authority, and the people in their turns only regard him as an uſurper. Reaſon is too weak an inſtrument to regulate claims ſo repugnant to each other. The deciſion of rights is referred to the ſword, and he that has the longeſt ſword is found to have the beſt cauſe.

THOUGH the intereſts, which divided the Spaniards in Peru, were not of this importance, yet they were attended with the ſame, if not greater exceſſes. Almagro and his adherents, had paſſed the ſea for no other purpoſe than to enrich themſelves with the gold of the country. Of this they had leſs than their opponents, and they wanted to wreſt it from them by the ſword. Whether Pizarro thought his preſence neceſſary elſe-

where, or whether, as he himself said, he felt a reluctance in fighting against his old friend, he committed to his brother Fernando the charge of conquering him; and his hopes were not disappointed. Almagro was beaten, and made prisoner, on the banks of the Aparimac, on the 6th of April 1538. The conqueror, who had private revenge to gratify, judged, that the author of these disturbances ought not to live. This great sacrifice he offered up, for the sake, as he said, of the publick tranquillity.

The partisans of Almagro, being dispersed by the death of their chief, conducted themselves with great prudence and circumspection. The absence of Fernando, who was gone to Europe, either to solicit a reward, or to justify his severity according to the dispositions he should find predominant at the court of Madrid, appeared to have extinguished in their bosom all resentment. They seemed to study nothing but how to obtain the good-will of the person, who had it in his power to dispense favours to all. By means of the confidence which they had the happiness to inspire, they lived without molestation, insensibly drew nearer to each other, and found a center of communication in the son of a man, whose loss they had never ceased to deplore. The death of Francis Pizarro was solemnly and unanimously decreed among them.

On the day fixed, which was in the month of June 1541, the conspirators at mid day crossed the streets of Lima. They had preferred the light of day to the obscurity of the night, in order by that means to prepossess the multitude in favour of the justice of their projects, or the justness of their measures, and to prevent even an idea of an attempt to frustrate them. Their stratagem succeeded, nobody stirred; and the conqueror of so many vast kingdoms was quietly massacred in the center of a town that he had founded,

and

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and whose inhabitants were composed of his creatures, his servants, his relations, his friends, or his soldiers. Those whom they judged most likely to revenge his death, were murdered after him: their fury took a wide range, and every one who dared to shew himself in the streets and in the squares, was regarded as an enemy, and put to the sword. Instantly the houses and temples were filled with slaughter, and presented nothing but mangled carcases. Avarice which would not see among the number of the rich any but the partisans of the old government, was still more furious than hatred, and became more active, more suspicious, and more implacable. The image of a place carried by assault by a barbarous nation, would communicate but an imperfect idea of that spectacle of horror, which these ruffians now exhibited, who wrested from their accomplices the booty of which they had disappointed them.

This cruel massacre was followed by enormities of another kind. The soul of young Almagro seems to have been formed for tyranny. Every one who had been in employment under the adversary of his family was inhumanly proscribed. The antient magistrates were deposed. The troops were put under the command of new officers. The royal treasury, and the wealth of those, who perished or were absent, were seized upon by the usurper. His accomplices, attached to his fortune by being partakers of his crimes, were forced to give their support to designs, which filled them with horror. Those among them, who suffered their uneasiness at these proceedings to transpire, were either put to death in private or perished on a scaffold. During the confusion, in which a revolution so unexpected had plunged Peru, several provinces submitted to this monster, who caused himself to be proclaimed governor in the capital; and he marched into the heart of

of the empire to complete the reduction of every place that oppoſed or heſitated to acknowledge him.

A multitude of ruffians joined him in his march. His army breathed nothing but vengeance and plunder: every thing gave way before it. If the military talents of the general had equalled the ardour of his troops the war had ended here. Unhappily for Almagro, he had loſt his conductor, John de Herrada. His inexperience made him fall into the ſnares that were laid for him by Pedro Alvares, who had put himſelf at the head of the oppoſite party. He loſt in attempting to unravel their plots, that time that he ought to have employed in fighting. In theſe circumſtances, an event which nobody could have foreſeen, happened to change the face of affairs.

The licentiate Vaca di Caſtro, who had been ſent from Europe to try the murderers of old Almagro, arrived at Peru. As he was to aſſume the government in caſe Pizarro was no more, all who had not ſold themſelves to the tyrant, haſtened to acknowledge him. Uncertainty and jealouſy, which had for too long a time kept them diſperſed, were no longer an obſtacle to their re-union. Caſtro, who was as reſolute as if he had grown grey under a helmet, did not ſuffer their impatience to languiſh, but inſtantly led them againſt the enemy. The two armies engaged at Chapas on the 16th of September 1542, and fought with inexpreſſible obſtinacy. Victory, after having wavered a long time, at the cloſe of the day decided in favour of that party, whoſe cauſe was the moſt juſt. Thoſe among the rebels, who were moſt obnoxious, dreading to languiſh under diſgraceful tortures, provoked the conquerors to murder them, crying out like men in deſpair, *It was I who killed Pizarro.* Their chief was taken priſoner, and died on the ſcaffold.

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WHILE these scenes of horror were transacting in America, the Spaniards in Europe were employed in finding out expedients to terminate them; though no measures had been taken to prevent them. Peru had only been subjected to the court of Audience at Panama, which was too remote to superintend the maintenance of good order, and had too little influence to make its decrees respected. They established at Lima a supreme tribunal, for the dispensation of justice, which was to be invested with an authority sufficient to enforce and to reward a due obedience to the laws. Blasco Nunez Vela, who presided in it as viceroy, arrived in 1544, attended by his subordinates in office, and found every thing in the most dreadful disorder.

WE must judge of those revolutions which are produced by civil wars, by the causes from which they spring. When an abhorrence of tyranny and the natural love of liberty stimulate a brave people to take up arms, if the goodness of their cause crowns them with victory, the calm which succeeds this transitory calamity, is an æra of the greatest happiness. The vigour, which hath been excited in the soul of every individual, manifests itself in his manners. A small number of citizens who have been witnesses and instruments of such troubles possess more moral strength than the most populous nations. Justice and power are united: and every man is astonished to find that he occupies that very place which nature had marked out for him. But when civil wars proceed from a corrupt source; when slaves fight about the choice of a tyrant, when the ambitious contend in order to oppress, and robbers quarrel for the sake of spoil, the peace which terminates these horrors, is scarcely preferable to the war which gave them birth. Criminals assume the place of those judges who disgraced them, and become the oracles of those laws, which they have insulted. Men ruined by their extravagancies

vagancies and debaucheries insult with an overbearing pomp those virtuous citizens, whose patrimony they have invaded. In this state of utter confusion, the passions only are heard. Avarice seeks to grow rich without trouble, vengeance to gratify its resentments without fear, licentiousness to throw off every restraint, and discontent to occasion a total subversion of things. From the phrenzy of carnage they pass to that of debauchery. The sacred bed of innocence or of marriage is polluted with blood, adultery and brutal violence. The fury of the multitude amuses itself with destroying every thing it cannot enjoy; and thus in a few hours perish the monuments of many centuries.

If fatigue, an intire lassitude, or some lucky accidents suspend these calamities, the habit of wickedness, murder, and contempt of laws, which necessarily subsists after so many storms, is a leaven ever ready to ferment. Generals who no longer have any command, licentious soldiers without pay, and the people fond of novelty in hopes of a better condition; this situation of things, and these means of confusion, are always under the management of the first factious person who knows how to make use of them.

Such was the disposition of the Spaniards in Peru, when Nunez appeared among them. It was necessary that a change should take place, that their ferocity should be softened, that the men who had always lived in independence should be curbed, that insatiable avarice should be checked, that injustice itself should be brought back to the first principles of equity, that those who had attended to nothing but their own private interests should be brought to concur to the public good, that adventurers who had even forgotten the name of their country should be converted into citizens, that property should be established where before they had only obeyed the law of force, that order should arise from the midst of confusion;

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confusion; in a word, that monsters should be transformed into men.

So great a work would have required a profound genius, a conciliatory temper, an inflexible patience, extensive views, a pliant character, and many other qualities which are seldom united. Nunez had none of these endowments. Nature had only given him rectitude, firmness, and ardour; and he had taken no pains to improve these gifts. With these virtues, which were almost defects in his situation, he began to fulfil his mission, without regard to places, persons, or circumstances.

Contrary to the opinion of all sensible people, who wished that he should wait for new instructions from Europe, he published ordinances which declared that the lands which the conquerors had seized, should not pass to their descendents, and which dispossessed those who had taken part in the civil commotions. All the Peruvians, who had been enslaved by monks, bishops, and members of government, were declared free. Those who belonged to other masters, were to be freed from their shackles at the death of their oppressors. They could no longer be compelled to bury themselves in the mines, nor could any kind of labour be exacted from them without payment. Their tribute was fixed. The Spaniards who travelled on foot, were deprived of the right of taking three Indians to carry their baggage; and those who travelled on horseback, of the right of taking five. The caciques were discharged from the obligation of furnishing the traveller and his retinue with provisions gratis. Other tyrannical establishments shortly too would have been proscribed, and the conquered people were on the eve of being sheltered under the protection of laws, which would at least have tempered the rigours of the right of conquest, if even they had not entirely repaired the injustice of

them; but it should seem that the Spanish government was only to be unhappy in the good it attempted to effect.

A CHANGE so unexpected filled those with consternation who saw their fortunes wrested from them, or who lost the flattering hope of transmitting theirs to posterity. Even those, who were not affected by this interest, being accustomed to look upon the Indians as the instruments and victims of their avarice, had no conception that any other ideas could prevail concerning them. From astonishment they proceeded to indignation, murmuring, and sedition. The viceroy was degraded, put in irons, and banished to a desert island, 'till he could be conveyed to Spain.

GONZALES PIZARRO was then returned from a hazardous expedition, which had carried him as far as the river of the Amazons, and had employed him long enough to prevent him from acting a part in those revolutions which had so rapidly succeeded each other. The anarchy he found prevailing at his return, inspired him with the idea of seizing the supreme authority. His fame and his forces made it impossible that this should be refused him; but his usurpation was marked with so many enormities, that Nunez was regretted. He was recalled from exile, and soon collected a sufficient number of forces, to enable him to take the field. Civil commotions were then renewed with extreme fury on both parties. No quarter was asked or given on either side. The Indians took part in this, as they had done in the preceding wars, some ranged themselves under the standard of the viceroy, others under the banners of Gonzales. From fifteen to twenty thousand of those unhappy wretches who were scattered about in each army, dragged up the artillery, levelled the roads, carried the baggage, and destroyed one another. Their conquerors had taught them to be sanguinary. After a

1545 variety of advantages for a long time alternately obtained, fortune at length favoured the rebellion under the walls of Quito in the month of January, in the year 1545. Nunez, and the greatest part of his men, were massacred on this dreadful day.

PIZARRO took the road of Lima, where they were deliberating on the ceremonies with which they should receive him. Some officers wished that a canopy should be carried for him to march under, after the manner of kings. Others, with adulation still more extravagant, pretended that part of the walls of the town, and even some houses must be pulled down, as was the custom at Rome, when a general obtained the honours of a triumph. Gonzales contented himself with making his entrance on horseback, preceded by his lieutenant, who marched on foot. Four bishops accompanied him, and he was followed by the magistrates. The streets were strewn with flowers, and the air resounded with the noise of bells and various musical instruments. This homage totally turned the head of a man naturally haughty, and of confined ideas. He spoke and acted in the most despotic manner.

HAD Gonzales possessed judgment and the appearance of moderation, it would have been possible for him to have rendered himself independent. The principal persons of his party wished it. The majority would have beheld this event with indifference, and the rest would have been obliged to consent to it. But unbridled, insatiable avarice, and unbounded pride, altered their dispositions. Even those, whose interests were more connected with those of the tyrant, refused to concur.

Some deliverers arrived from Europe. The person of the licentiate Pedro de la Gasca, a priest of the inquisition, and the province of the licentiate Pedro Ortiz, a clergyman, for a partition that was intended with a royal authority to govern them. Those who had concealed their designs,

govern,

caverns, and forests, quitted their retreats to join him. Gonsalez who saw no resource left to support him but in some great atchievement, took the road of Cusco, with a resolution to give battle. At some leagues distance from this place, he met the royal army, and attacked it on the 9th of June 1548. One of his lieutenants seeing him abandoned at the first charge by his best soldiers, advised him to throw himself into the enemy's battalions, and perish like a Roman: but this weak man chose rather to surrender, and end his life on a scaffold. Carvejal, a more able warrior, and more ferocious than himself, was quartered. This madman, when he was dying, made his boast that he had massacred with his own hand fourteen hundred Spaniards, and twenty thousand Indians.

SUCH was the last scene of a tragedy, of which every act had been marked with blood. The government was moderate enough not to continue the proscriptions; and the remembrance of the horrid calamities they had suffered, kept the Spaniards in the bounds of subjection. What still remained of that commotion that had been raised in their minds, insensibly sank into a calm, like the agitation of waves after a long and furious tempest.

WITH regard to the Peruvians, they took the most cruel measures to render it impossible for them to stir. Manco Amaru, the heir of their last king, had taken refuge in some remote mountains where he lived in peace. There he was so closely surrounded by the troops which had been sent out against him, that he was forced to surrender. The viceroy Francis de Toledo caused him to be accused of several crimes that he had not committed, and for which he was beheaded in 1571. All the other descendents of the Incas shared the same fate, under pretence that they had conspired against their conquerors. The horror of these enor-

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nities excited so universal an indignation both in the old and the new world, that Philip the second thought himself obliged to disavow them, but the infamous policy of this prince was so notorious, that nobody gave credit to this appearance of his justice and humanity.

From this execrable æra, there hath only been one trifling insurrection in Peru. An Indian, of the province of Xauxa, who declared himself of the blood of the Incas, was proclaimed king in 1742. His countrymen, who flattered themselves that they should soon recover their religion, their laws, their lands, and their glory, flocked in crowds to his standard: but they were beaten and dispersed, after having made a considerable progress. The prisoners declared that this conspiracy had been brooding for thirty years. A singular example in history, and which may be regarded as the most authentic proof of the hatred of the Peruvians against the Spaniards.

Natural state of Peru.

The empire of Peru, at the time it was subdued, extended along the South Sea, from the river of Emeralds to Chili, and on the land side to Popayan, according to some geographers. It contained within its extent that famous chain of mountains which rises in the Terra Magellanica, and is gradually lost in Mexico, in order to unite, as it should seem, the southern parts of America with the northern. Its territory, which is very irregular, may be divided into three classes.

The principal Cordeleras form the first: the summits of these, says M. de la Condamine, are lost in the clouds, and almost all of them are covered with enormous masses of snow as old as the world. From several of these summits which have in part tumbled down, and from these immense heaps of snow, torrents of smoak and flame still issue. Such are the summits of Cotopaxi, Tongourargua, and Sangai. The greatest part of the rest have formerly been vulcanos, or will, probably,

probably, one day become such. History has only preserved to us the æra of their eruptions, since the discovery of America; but the pumice stones, the calcined earths with which they are strewn, and the evident vestiges that the flame hath left, are authentic testimonies of the reality of former eruptions: their height is prodigious.

Cayambour, which is situated directly under the equator, and Antisona, which is only five leagues distant from it to the south, are more than three thousand toises high, reckoning from the level of the sea; and Chimborazo, which is near 3220 toises high, surpasses by one third the altitude of the Peak of Teneriffe, the highest mountain of the old hemisphere. Pitchincha and Cayaon, where the French Academicians made most of their observations with regard to the figure of the earth, have only 2430 and 2470 toises of absolute height; and this is the highest mountain that was ever ascended. Eternal snows have hitherto rendered summits of greater altitude inaccessible.

From this boundary, which is where the snow never melts, not even in the torrid zone, one hardly sees, in descending an hundred or an hundred and fifty toises down, any thing except naked rocks or dry sands: a little lower, one may perceive some moss that covers the rocks, various kinds of heath, which though green and damp, make a clear fire, round hillocks of spungy earth, on which grow small radiated and starry plants, whose petals are like the leaves of yew. Throughout the whole of this space, the snow is only temporary, but it continues sometimes whole weeks and months. Lower still the ground is commonly covered with a sort of loose grass, which rises a foot and half high or two feet. This species of hay, is the proper characteristic that distinguishes the mountains which the Spaniards call *Parames*. They only give this name to heath or such uncultivated

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cultivated ground that is too high for wood to grow on it, or where the rain ſeldom falls otherwiſe than in the form of ſnow, though it immediately melts. In a word, in deſcending ſtill lower, to the height of about two thouſand toiſes above the level of the ſea, one ſees it ſometimes ſnow and ſometimes rain.

When we come down from theſe mountains, we find others that are leſs conſiderable, which occupy the middle of Peru. The ſummit of theſe is commonly cold, barren, and full of mines. The vallies between them are covered with numerous flocks, and ſeem to offer to agriculture the moſt copious harveſts. There are ſeldom above two months of winter here; and in the greateſt heat, we need only paſs out of the ſun into the ſhade to enjoy the temperate zone. This rapid alternative of ſenſation, is not, however, invariable in a climate, which by the diſpoſition alone of the ground, often changes in the courſe of a league. But let it be as it will, it is always found healthy. There is no malady peculiar to theſe countries, and thoſe of our climate ſeldom prevail there. An European veſſel, however, in 1719 brought thither an epidemic diſorder, which carried off a great number of Spaniards and Meſtees, and above two hundred thouſand Indians. A more fatal preſent ſtill which theſe people have received in exchange for their gold, is the ſmall-pox. It ſhewed itſelf here for the firſt time in 1588, and has not failed ſince to make at intervals inexpreſſible ravages.

They are not leſs expoſed to this dire ſcourge on the coaſts known by the name of vallies. Their temperature is not the ſame, as is elſewhere found in the ſame latitude. It is very agreeable; and though the four ſeaſons of the year are ſenſibly felt here, there is none that can with propriety be deemed inconvenient. The winter is the moſt ſtrongly marked. This has been accounted for by the winds of the ſouth pole, which bring along with them

them the impression of those snows and that ice, from which they first came: but this they preserve only in part, because they blow while a thick fog lies upon the earth. In reality, these gross vapours never regularly rise but towards noon, but it is seldom that they disperse. The sky commonly continues covered with them to that degree, that the rays of the sun which sometimes appear, cannot but in a very slight manner mitigate the cold.

WHATEVER may be the cause of so regular a winter under the torrid zone, it is certain that these valleys which are covered with heaps of sand, are absolutely barren for a space of more than an hundred leagues, from Truxillo to Lima. The rest of the coast is less sandy, but it is still too much so to be fruitful. No soils are there found that can be styled fertile, except in such lands as are watered by the streams which descend from the mountains.

RAIN might contribute to impart to the soil the fertility of which it is destitute, but it is never known to rain in lower Peru. Natural philosophy has exerted her efforts to discover the cause of a phænomenon so extraordinary. May it not be attributed to the south-west wind which prevails there the greatest part of the year, and to the prodigious height of the mountains, whose summit is covered with eternal ice? The country situated between both, being continually cooled on one side and continually heated on the other, maintains so equal a temperature, that the clouds which rise, can never be condensed so far as to be resolved into actual water. To this it is owing, that the houses though only built of crude brick or of earth mixed with a little grass, are of eternal duration. Their covering is only a simple matting, placed horizontally with a layer of ashes an inch deep above, to absorb the moisture of the fog.

The same reasons, that prevent its raining in the valleys, undoubtedly also hinder storms. Those of their inhabitants, who never travelled in the mountains, are perfect strangers to thunder and lightening. Their terror is equal to their astonishment, when out of their country, they first behold so uncommon a spectacle.

But they have a phænomenon much more dangerous and dreadful, and which in its consequences leaves much deeper impressions in the human imagination than thunder and the ravages that accompany it. Earthquakes, which in other countries are so rare, that whole generations pass without beholding one, are so common in the valleys of Peru, that they have there contracted an habit of reckoning them as a series of dates, which are so much the more memorable, as their frequent return does not diminish their violence. There are few places on this extensive coast, which present not most dreadful monuments of these horrible convulsions of the earth.

This phænomenon, which is ever irregular in its unexpected returns, is however announced by very perceptible omens. When it will prove considerable, it is preceded by a murmur in the air, the noise of which is like that of heavy rain which falls from a cloud that suddenly bursts and discharges its waters. This noise seems to be the effect of a vibration of the air which is agitated in different directions. The birds are then observed to dart in their flight. Neither their tail nor their wings serve them any longer as oars and helm to swim in the fluid of the skies. They dash themselves in pieces against the walls, the trees, and the rocks, whether it be that this vertigo of nature dazzles and confuses them, or that the vapours of the earth take away their strength and power to command their movements.

To this tumult in the air is added the rumbling of the earth, whose cavities and deep recesses, re-echo each others noises. The dogs answer these previous tokens of a

general

general disorder of nature by howling in an extraordinary manner. The animals stop, and by a natural instinct spread out their legs asunder that they may not fall. Upon these indications, men instantly run out of their houses, with terror impressed on their countenances, and fly to search in the enclosures of public places, or in the fields, an asylum from the fall of their roofs. The cries of children, the lamentations of women, the sudden darkness of an unexpected night, every thing combines to aggravate the too real evils of a dire calamity which subverts every thing, with the excruciating tortures of the imagination, which is distressed and confounded, and loses in the contemplation of this disorder, the thought and courage to remedy it.

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PERU, however, so unsteady on its basis, was inhabited. Amidst these horrors of nature, which might seem calculated to make tyrants and slaves equally ferocious and brutal, was formed a flourishing empire. Its population cannot reasonably be called in question, when we behold self-evident proofs that this happy people had spread with their colonies all the provinces that they had conquered; when we attend to the astonishing number of men employed in the government, and deriving their subsistence from the state. Such a number of persons employed, necessarily imply an immense population, in order to maintain with the productions of the earth a very numerous class of inhabitants, who are not themselves concerned in cultivation.

By what fatality then hath it happened that Peru is now such a desert? By ascending to the origin of things we find that those who conquered the coasts of the South Sea, being ruffians without birth, education, and principle, originally committed greater enormities than the conquerors of New Spain. The metropolis was a longer time in checking their ferocity, which was continually fomented by those long and cruel civil wars, that

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that succeeded the conquest. A system of oppression was afterwards established, the progress of which it is proper to examine, with whatever horror it may inspire us.

To what condition the Spaniards reduced the Peruvians.

The Peruvians were first of all stripped of their possessions, as the Mexicans had been. They left them only in common a part of those lands, which, in the times of the Incas, had been consecrated to public occasions. This portion hath been gradually diminished by the usurpations of powerful people, especially by the monks. The produce of the lands that remain for the maintenance of the infirm, the aged, the widows, and orphans, is now more respected; the greatest part of it is collected in the granaries of their oppressors.

The liberty of the Indians underwent the same fate as their property. Those who were the slaves of government, and were employed in the labours indispensibly necessary for new establishments, were ill fed and ill cloathed. When there was no longer any occupation for them, they were transferred to private persons, whose fiefs stood in need of hands to cultivate them. In truth, those new masters were obliged to retain them in their service only six months, after which they might return to their cottages; but avarice soon found means to render a transient servitude perpetual. The wages regulated for these unhappy wretches, was insufficient to detain them. They tempted them by advance money, which their necessity led them to accept. From that moment the greatest part of them found themselves engaged for life; because they had no right of going away till they had paid the debts which they had contracted, which their poverty rendered it impossible for them ever to do. Tyranny was carried to greater lengths against this species of insolvent debtors, who had a family; for they put them in prison. In order to their enlargement, their wives and their children

dren were bound for them, and these became as many new slaves. Thus it was that the yoke of slavery was perpetuated. The sole consideration that could have served as a check to this barbarity, was, that whilst they had these Indians, they could not have other slaves; but it was always of singular utility to keep men whom they had formed according to their several occasions; especially manufacturers, whom it would always be difficult, often impossible to replace. BOOK VIII.

WHILST most of the Peruvians belonging to the crown, fell in this manner into a state of servitude, those who had been reduced into subjection at the time of the conquest, were still more wretched. Though the master of the district where they dwelt, had no right to exact of them any thing except a tribute which he shared with the treasury, he appropriated to himself all their labour. Tyranny was pushed to that height, that it rouzed the attention of the government. It has gradually suppressed all this despotism of individuals, and there was nothing of it remaining in 1750. The Indians however, who seemed to be restored to liberty by this new arrangement, have only changed the yoke. They have been destined to fill up the vacancy of the *Mitayos* or royal Indians, who perished in the service of those to whom they were consigned, and their condition is as wretched as it was before.

INDEPENDENT of this methodical and legal oppression which is exercised upon the whole nation, there are a thousand particular cruelties at which humanity no less recoils. It is expressly prohibited by law, that they shall oblige the Peruvians to work in the subterraneous mines, and there is no miner, who by his influence, or by his profusion, cannot compel them to it. These unhappy beings are condemned to pay 26 livres 5 sous [a] of a poll tax from eighteen years of age to fifty, throughout the greatest part of Peru: the farmers exact this

[a] About 1 l. 3s.

enormous

enormous tribute beyond the term settled, and even exact it twice a year, when the acquittances have been mislayed. Every proprietor of land who hath killed an Indian by overworking him, or letting him want necessaries, is obliged to lose another slave out of the number he is allowed to keep; and there are not, perhaps, two instances of this slight punishment for a crime which is repeated every day. The law obliges them to take all the inhabitants of a village to be enrolled, in order to fulfil the obligation imposed on the community; this destination is never fulfilled, but only by those who are incapable of redeeming themselves from the oppression. When a Spaniard hath ceded a portion of land to a Peruvian in order to fix him to his estate, he has no right to deprive him of it, till the clauses of the contract have been declared by law to be violated: the persons in power despise these forms, and resume their possessions whenever their interests or caprices prompt them to it. Travellers who are obliged to take nothing but by mutual consent, boldly seize every thing that they find in their huts. This continual pillage prevents the Indians from having any thing, even common necessaries. They sow no maize, but what is absolutely necessary for them, and they conceal it in secret caverns. The heads of a family possess alone the secret of this deposit, and go every eight days thence to fetch provisions for the week. In fine, the corregidors have for the most part appropriated to themselves the exclusive right of selling to the Indians of their district the merchandize of Europe, they either make them pay an exorbitant price for it, or oblige them to purchase what they have no occasion for themselves.

If the court of Madrid pretends that they have prevented these flagrant enormities by giving the Peruvians a Spanish protector, who is obliged to defend them, and a cacique of the country who is charged with the management of their affairs, it is deceived. The protector

annually receives from each of them 13 sous[a]; and the cacique six sous and a half[b], in his particular jurisdiction: and this is the only reformation that has been made. The protector sells the Indians to any that will purchase them, and the cacique is too much debased to be able to oppose this oppression.

BOOK VII.

RELIGION has not more power than the laws, or has still less. The clergy are the greatest enemies the Peruvians have. They make them work without paying them; and beat them unmercifully for the most trifling causes. When any one of these unhappy wretches is defective with regard to his instructions, he is directly punished; and the strokes of a cudgel are the paternal correction which these pastors inflict. No one presumes to approach them without some present. They have permitted their parishioners to continue such of their ancient superstitions as are useful to the church, as, for instance, the custom of carrying a great deal of provisions to the tombs of the dead. The clergy fix an arbitrary price to their functions, and they have always some pious inventions which give them occasion to exact new duties. The collections of the monks are real military executions. It is a species of plunder committed by authority, almost always accompanied with violence. This conduct could not fail to render christianity odious to the Indians. These people go to church as they do to the labours imposed upon them, execrating those foreign barbarians who overwhelm both their bodies and their souls with intolerable yokes and burdens.

THEY have in general preserved the religion of their ancestors; and even in the great towns, where they are not under the eyes of their tyrants, they have solemn days on which they assume their antient dress, and carry along the streets the images of the sun and moon. Some among

[a] About 7 pence. [b] About 3 pence halfpenny.

BOOK VI. among them represent a tragedy, the subject of which is the death of Atahalipa. The audience who begin with shedding tears, are afterwards transported into a kind of madness. It seldom happens in these festivals, but that some Spaniard is slain. One day, perhaps, this tragedy will end in the massacre of the whole race of the murderers of Atahalipa; and the priests who sacrificed him, will in their turn become victims for all the blood which they caused to be shed on the altar of a God of peace.

The Peruvians are moreover an instance of that profound stupidity, into which it is in the power of tyranny to plunge men. They are fallen into a listless and universal indifference. What should this people now be fond of, whose religion once elevated the soul, and from whom the most abject slavery has taken away every sentiment of greatness and glory? The riches, which their country hath offered them, do not tempt them; luxury, to which nature invites them, has no attraction for them. They are even insensible to honour. They are whatever one pleases, without any ill humour, or choice, caciques or *mitayos*, the objects of distinction or of public derision. They have lost all their passions. That of fear itself has often no effect on them, through the little attachment they have to life. They intoxicate themselves, and dance; these are all the pleasures they have, when they are able to forget their misery. Indolence is their predominant habit. *I am not hungry*, they say to the person who would pay them for their labour.

This is the condition of almost all nations that have no property. In hot countries, where they live at a small expence, where the earth gives much, and requires little, every man, who can but subsist without ever being in possession of any property, passes his life in ease and beggary; and neither labours for the morrow, nor for posterity. The universal fault of bad governments,

and

and they are almoſt all ſo, is in the legiſlative code with regard to the article of property. It ſhould either be ſaid that none ought to be admitted, or the greateſt poſſible equilibrium ought to be maintained in this ſocial balance. But of all legiſlations, the moſt deſtructive and the leaſt permanent is that of a nation compoſed of rich, and indolent proprietors, and ſlaves that are poor, and overburdened. It ſoon becomes only one general ſyſtem of idleneſs; cruelties, gibbets, and tortures on one ſide; hatred, poiſon, and inſurrection on the other; the ruin and deſtruction of both; the perdition and diſſolution of ſociety.

THAT of Peru was reduced to ſuch a ſtate of depopulation, as rendered it neceſſary that it ſhould be ſupplied by the purchaſe of a foreign race; but this mode of raiſing ſupplies, which was dictated by the refinement of European barbarity, was more prejudical to Africa than uſeful to the country of the Incas. They do not derive from it all the advantages with which they had flattered themſelves. The government hath thought proper to throw obſtacles in its way by monopolies and taxes which it ever impoſes on vices as well as on virtues, on induſtry and idleneſs, on good and bad projects, on the right of exerciſing oppreſſions, and the permiſſion of being exempted from them, on the power of putting the laws in execution, and the privilege of infringing or eluding them. Independent of theſe exceſſive duties laid on the introduction of negroes into Peru, it was neceſſary to receive them from an excluſive charter, and from foreign bands to import them acroſs immenſe ſeas, and to wholeſome climates, and to undergo the expence of ſeveral embarkations and diſembarkations. Neceſſity, ſtronger than theſe obſtacles, has however multiplied this ſpecies of men more at Peru than at Mexico. There is alſo a much greater number of Spaniards there, for the following reaſons.

BOOK VII.

To what degree the Spaniards have multiplied in Peru. Where, and how, they have formed their settlements. What species of cultivation, and what industry they have introduced into the empire.

At the time when the first conquests were made, when emigrations were most frequent, the country of the Incas had a much greater reputation for riches than New Spain, and in reality for a long time much greater treasures were brought away from it. The desire of partaking of them must necessarily draw thither, as was really the case, a greater number of Castilians. Though they all almost went over there, with the hope of returning to their country to enjoy the fortune they might acquire, yet the majority of them settled in the colony. They were induced to this by the softness of the climate, the salubrity of the air, and the goodness of the provisions. Mexico presented not the same advantages, and did not give them reason to expect so much independence as a country infinitely more remote from the metropolis.

Cusco attracted the conquerors in multitudes. They found this capital built on ground that was very irregular, and divided into as many quarters as there were provinces in the empire. Each of the inhabitants might follow the usages of his native country; but every body was obliged to conform to the worship established by the founder of the monarchy. There was no edifice that had any grandeur, elegance, or commodiousness; because the people were ignorant of the first elements of architecture. The magnificence of what they called the palace of the sovereign, of the princes of the blood, and of the great men of his empire, consisted in the profusion of the metals that were lavished on decorating them. The temple of the Sun was distinguished above all other edifices; its walls were incrusted or sheathed with gold and silver, ornamented with divers figures, and loaded with the idols of all the nations whom the Incas had enlightened and subdued.

Profligate and idle monks have prostituted these rich metals to other superstitions; substituted to the useful

useful prejudices of the climate others of a more destructive kind, and expelled the natural errors, fatal to the ruin of the inhabitants, by foreign tenets, highly absurd in themselves, as well as repugnant to the human mind and to every social tie. The same fatality which subverts the universe, the ocean, the land, empires and nations, which alternately diffuses on the globe the illumination of the arts, and the darkness of ignorance, which transplants men and opinions, as the winds and currents drive fish and sea weeds on the shore: this fatal destiny has decreed that a set of proud monks, enervated at once by indolence and voluptuousness, should infolently indulge themselves in ease upon the ashes of the virtuous Incas, in the center of an empire formerly so blessed under these legislators. This deplorable revolution does not hinder the Peruvians, who in general have the greatest aversion for living in cities, because inhabited by Spaniards, from voluntarily chusing to reside at Cuico. They still love to behold that venerable place from which those holy laws originated, which rendered their ancestors so happy. The remembrance of this inspires them with an elevation of soul; and they are found to be less stupid on this celebrated spot, than in other parts of their empire.

On a hill, north of the capital, was a citadel, which the Incas had built with much care, time, labour, and expence. The Spaniards long spoke of this monument of Peruvian industry with a spirit of admiration that astonished all Europe. We have seen the ruins of this fortress, and the marvellous has disappeared: nothing has remained but the astonishment, which must necessarily be occasioned by the sight of the enormous masses of stone, which have been brought from a considerable distance, without the assistance of levers and other machines that are known to more enlightened nations.

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Four leagues from this fortress we meet with a delicious valley, where the Incas and the great men of the empire had their country houses. This enchanting retreat so well preserves its reputation, that the richest inhabitants of Cusco believe, that there is something deficient in their system of happiness when they cannot purchase a piece of ground there. The sick ordinarily repair thither in search of health, and it rarely happens but they find it.

As it was not a solicitude for their own preservation which occupied the Spaniards at first, they had no sooner pillaged the immense riches which had been amassed at Cusco for four centuries, than they went in great numbers in 1534, under the orders of Sebastian de Benalcazar, to undertake the destruction of Quito. The other towns and boroughs of the empire were overrun with the same spirit of rapine; and the citizens and the temples were plundered in all parts.

Those of the conquerors who did not take up their residence in the settlements which they found formed to their hands, built towns on the sea coasts, where before there were none; for the sterility of the soil had not permitted the Peruvians to multiply much there; and they had not been engaged to remove thither from the extremity of their country, for they sailed very little. Paita, Truxillo, Callao, Pisco, and Arica were the roads, which the Spaniards deemed most convenient for the communication they intended to establish among themselves and with the metropolis. The different positions of these new cities determined the degree of their prosperity.

Those which were afterwards built in the inland parts of the country, were not erected in regions which presented a fertile soil, copious harvests, excellent pastures, a mild and salubrious climate, and all the conveniencies of life. Those places which had hitherto been

so well cultivated by a numerous and flourishing people, where now totally disregarded. Very soon they exhibited only a deplorable picture of a horrid desert, and this wildness must have been more melancholy and hideous than the dreary aspect of the earth before the origin of societies. The traveller, who was led by accident or curiosity into these desolated plains, could not forbear abhorring the barbarous and bloody authors of these devastations, while he reflected that it was not owing even to the cruel illusions of glory and to the fanaticism of conquest, but to the stupid and abject desire of gold that they had sacrificed so much more real treasure, and so numerous a population.

This insatiable thirst of gold which neither attended to subsistence, safety, nor policy, was the only motive for establishing new settlements, some of which have been kept up, while several have gone to ruin, and others have been formed in their stead. The fate of them all has corresponded with the discovery, progress, or declension of the mines to which they were subordinate.

No wickedness have been committed in the means of procuring provisions. The natives had hitherto lived hardly on any thing else but maize, fruits and pulse, for which they had used no other seasoning except salt and pimento. Their liquors, which were made from different roots, were more diversified; of these the chica was the most usual, which was made from maize soaked in water, and taken out of the vessel when it begins to sprout. It is dried in the sun, then parched a little, and at last ground. The flour after it has been well kneaded, is put with water into large pitchers. The fermentation may be expected in two or three days, and must not continue longer. The great inconvenience of this drink, which, when used immoderately, infallibly inebriates, is, that it will not keep more than eight days without turning sour. Its taste is nearly that of the worse kind of cyder. It is a refreshing, nourishing, and

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aperitive liquor. The Indians who are never troubled with ſuppreſſions of urine, are ſaid to owe this advantage to the uſe of this drink.

THE conquerors were not ſatisfied either with the liquors or with the food of the people they had ſubdued. They imported vines from the old world, which ſoon multiplied to that degree in the ſands of the coaſts at Ica, Piſca, Naſca, Moquequa, and Truxillo, as to furniſh the colony with the wine and brandy they wanted. Olives ſucceeded ſtill better, and yielded a great abundance of oil, which was much ſuperior to that of the metropolis. Other fruits were tranſplanted with the ſame ſucceſs. Sugar ſucceeds ſo well that none of any other growth can be compared to this which is cultivated in theſe parts where it never rains. In the inland country wheat and barley were ſown; and at length all the European quadrupeds were ſoon found grazing at the foot of the mountains.

THIS was a conſiderable ſtep, but there ſtill remained much more to be done. After they had provided for a better and a greater choice of ſubſiſtence, the next care of the Spaniards was to have a dreſs more commodious and more agreeable than that of the Peruvians. Theſe were, however, better clothed than any other American nation. They owed this ſuperiority to the advantage which they alone poſſeſſed of having the lama and the pacos, domeſtic animals which ſerved them for this uſe.

THE lama is an animal four feet high, and five or ſix in length; of which its neck alone takes up one half. Its head is well made, with large eyes, a long ſnout, and thick lips. Its mouth has no inciſors in the upper jaw. Its feet are cloven like thoſe of the ox, but furniſhed with a ſpur behind, which enables it to faſten itſelf on the ſides of ſteep places, where it delights to climb. Its wool which is ſhort on its back, but grows long on its ſides and under the belly, conſtitutes part of its

its usefulness. Though very salacious, they copulate with great difficulty. In vain the female prostrates herself to receive the male, and invites him by her sighs; they are sometimes a whole day groaning, grumbling, and ineffectually attempting enjoyment, if men do not help them to fulfil the desire of nature. Thus several of our domestic animals, that are chained, broken, forced, and restrained in all their freest motions and sensations, lose through ineffectual efforts the principles of generation while they are confined in stables, if care and attention does not supply the place of that liberty, of which they have been deprived. The females of the lama have only two breasts, never more than two young, commonly but one, which follows the dam immediately after its birth; it is of a very quick growth, and its life of short duration. At three years old it propagates its species, preserves its vigour till twelve, then decays till it reaches fifteen, being employed in drudgery.

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They employ the lamas, as mules, in carrying on their backs loads of about an hundred weight. They move with a slow but firm pace at the rate of four or five leagues a day, in countries that are impracticable to other animals; descending through gullies and climbing up rocks, where men cannot follow them. After four or five days journey, they rest of their own accord for twenty-four hours.

Nature has formed them for the people of that climate where they are produced, mild and phlegmatic, moderate and prudent, like the Americans. When they stop, they bend their knees and stoop their body in such a manner as not to discompose their burthen. As soon as they hear their driver whistle, they rise with the same care, and proceed on their journey. They browse on the grass they find in their way, and chew the cud at night, even when asleep, reclining on their breast, with

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their feet doubled under their belly. They are neither dispirited by fasting nor drudgery, whilst they have any strength remaining; but when they are totally exhausted or fall under their burden, it is to no purpose to harass and beat them: they will continue obstinately striking their heads against the ground, first on one side, then on the other, till they kill themselves. They never defend themselves either with their feet or teeth, and in the height of their indignation, content themselves with only spitting in the face of those who insult them.

THE pacos is to the lama what the ass is to the horse, a subordinate species, smaller in size, with shorter legs, and a flat snout; but of the same disposition, the same manners and the same constitution as the lama; made like the lama, to carry burthens, and more obstinate in its caprices, perhaps, because it is weaker.

THESE animals are so much the more useful to man, as their service costs him nothing. Their thick fur supplies the place of a pack saddle. The little grass which they find along the road, suffices for their food, and furnishes them with a plentiful and fresh saliva, which exempts them from the necessity of drinking.

AMONG the lamas, there are some of a wild species called guanacos, which are stronger, more sprightly, and more nimble than the domestic lamas, running like the stag and climbing like the wild goat, covered with short wool, and of a fawn colour. Though free, they like to collect in herds to the number sometimes of two or three hundred. If they see a man, they survey him at first with an air of greater astonishment than curiosity. Then snuffing up the air and neighing, they run all together to the summit of the mountains. These animals seek the north, travel on the ice, and sojourn within the regions of snow, dreading the heat of the low lands; they

they are vigorous, and appear in vaſt numbers on the Sierras, which are of the ſame height as the Cordeleras; ſmall in ſize, and difficult to be found in the heaths, which are at the bottom of the mountains. When they are hunted for their fleece, if they gain the rocks, neither hunters nor dogs can ever catch them.

The vicunas, a ſpecies of wild pacos, are ſtill fonder of the ſummits of mountains, the ſnow and the ice. Their wool is longer, thicker ſet, and much finer than that of the guanacos. Its colour reſembles that of dried roſes, and ſo fixed by nature, that it cannot be altered in the hands of thoſe who are employed in working it. The vicunas are ſo timid, that their fear itſelf makes them an eaſy prey to the hunter. Men ſurround them and drive them into narrow defiles, at the end of which they have ſuſpended pieces of cloath or linen on cords, that are raiſed three or four feet from the ground. Theſe rags being agitated by the wind, ſtrike ſuch terror into them, that they ſtand crowded and ſqueezed one againſt another, ſuffering themſelves to be killed rather than fly. But if there happens to be among the vicunas, a guanaco which being more adventurous leaps over the cords, they follow it and eſcape.

All theſe animals belong ſo peculiarly to South America, and eſpecially to the higheſt Cordeleras, that they are never ſeen on the ſide of Mexico, where the height of theſe mountains is conſiderably diminiſhed. Attempts have been made to propagate the breed in Europe, but they have all died. The Spaniards, without reflecting, that theſe animals even in Peru itſelf ſought the coldeſt parts, tranſported them to the burning plains of Andaluſia. They might, poſſibly, have ſucceeded at the foot of the Alps or the Pyrenees. This conjecture of M. de Buffon, to whom we are indebted for ſo many uſeful and profound obſervations on animals, is worthy

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the attention of ſtateſmen, whoſe ſteps ought always to be guided by the lights of philoſophy.

The fleſh of the lamas, when they are young is good eating. The ſkin of the old ones ſerves the Indians for ſhoes, and the Spaniards for harneſs. The guanacos may alſo be eaten; but the vicunas are only ſought after for their fleece, and for the bezoar that they produce.

In general, the wool of the lamas, pacos, guanacos, and vicunas was uſefully employed by the Peruvians, before the conqueſt. The inhabitants of Cuſco made tapeſtry of it for the uſe of the court, in which flowers, birds and trees were pretty well imitated. It ſerved alſo to make mantles, which were worn over a ſhirt of cotton. They tuck them up in order to have their arms free. The principal people faſtened them with gold and ſilver claſps, their wives with pins made of theſe metals, ornamented with emeralds, and the common people with thorns. In hot countries, the mantles of perſons of diſtinction were made of cotton of conſiderable fineneſs, and dyed with various colours. The common people, in the ſame climate, had no cloathing at all except a girdle that was compoſed of the filaments of the bark of a tree, and ſerved to cover thoſe parts nature intended ſhould be concealed.

After the conqueſt all the Indians were obliged to wear cloaths. As the oppreſſion under which they groaned, did not allow them to exerciſe their former induſtry, they took up with the coarſer cloths of Europe, for which they were made to pay an exorbitant price. When the gold and ſilver which had eſcaped the rapacity of the conquerors were exhauſted, they thought of re-eſtabliſhing their national manufactures. Theſe were ſome time after prohibited, on account of the deficiency, which they occaſioned in the exports of the metropolis. The impoſſibility, which the Peruvians found

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of purchasing foreign stuffs and paying their taxes, occasioned permission to be given at the end of ten years for their re-establishment. They have not been discontinued since that time, and have been brought to as great perfection as it was possible they could be under a continual tyranny.

With the wool of the vicuna they make, at Cusco and in its territory, stockings, handkerchiefs, and scarfs. These manufacturers would have been multiplied, if the spirit of destruction had not fallen on the animals as well as on the men. The same wool mixed with that of the sheep imported hither from Europe, which hath exceedingly degenerated, serves for carpets, and makes also tolerably fine cloth. Fleeces of inferior quality are employed in serges, druggets, and in all kinds of coarse stuffs.

The manufactures that serve to luxury are established at Arequipa, Cusco and Lima. In these three towns they make a prodigious number of gold toys and plate for the use of private persons, and also for the churches. All these manufactures are but coarsely wrought, and mixed with a great deal of copper. We seldom discover more taste in their laces and embroideries which their manufactures also produce. This is not altogether the case in regard to their lace, which when mixed with European, looks very beautiful. These different works are commonly in the hands of the nuns, who employ the Peruvian girls, and the young Mestees of the towns, who for the most part before marriage pass some years in the convent.

Other hands are employed in painting and gilding leather for rooms, in making with wood and ivory pieces of inlaid work and sculpture, and in drawing figures on the marble that is found at Cuenca, or on linen imported from Europe. These different works, which are almost all manufactured at Cusco, serve for ornaments

BOOK VIII. naments to houſes, palaces, and temples, the drawing of them is not bad, but the colours are neither exact nor permanent. If the Indians, who invent nothing, but are excellent imitators, had able maſters, and excellent models, they would at leaſt make good copiſts. At the cloſe of the laſt century, they brought to Rome ſome of the works of a Peruvian painter, named Michael de St. Jacques, in which the connoiſſeurs diſcovered marks of genius.

THESE particulars will intereſt ſuch of our readers, whom we ſhall have inſpired with affection for one of the beſt nations that ever exiſted, and with eſteem for one of the moſt excellent inſtitutions that ever did honour to mankind. Thoſe who are ſtrangers to that univerſal benevolence which extends to all nations and all ages, will have experienced other ſentiments. Accuſtomed to behold nothing in Peru but the produce of its mines, they muſt conſequently regard with contempt every thing that has not a direct relation with their avarice. This would diminiſh, perhaps be totally ſuſpended, if they were but diſpoſed frequently to revolve by what barbarity and enormities it has been gratified.

Of the mines of Peru.

THOUGH the Peruvians were unacquainted with coin, they knew the uſe of gold and ſilver, for they employed them in different kinds of ornaments. Independent of what the torrents and accident procured them of theſe metals, ſome mines had been opened of little depth, which were not far below the ſurface of the earth. The Spaniards have not tranſmitted to us the manner, in which theſe rich productions were drawn from the boſom of the earth. Their pride, which has deprived us of ſo much uſeful knowledge, undoubtedly made them think, that in the inventions of a people whom they called barbarous, there was nothing that was worthy to be recorded.

THE

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THIS difference as to the manner in which the Peruvians worked their mines, did not extend to the mines themselves. The conquerors opened them on all sides. At first the gold mines tempted the avarice of the greater number. Fatal experience discouraged those whom passion had not blinded. They clearly saw, that for some enormous fortunes raised in this manner, great numbers who had only moderate fortunes were totally ruined. These mines sank into such discredit, that in order to prevent them from being abandoned, the government was obliged to take the twentieth part of their produce, instead of the fifth which it at first received.

THE mines of silver were more common, more equal, and richer. They even produced silver of a singular species, rarely found elsewhere. Towards the sea coast, great lumps of this metal are found in the sands. Subterraneous fires, volcanos, and the revolutions which America hath experienced and still continues to suffer, seem to indicate the cause of the transposition of those metallic masses, that are met with in several parts of this continent.

THERE are a great number of other mines which are infinitely more important, and are found in the rocks and on the mountains. Several of them gave false hopes. Such in particular was that of Ucuntaya, discovered 1783. This was only an incrustation of almost malleable silver, which at first yielded several millions, but was soon exhausted.

OTHERS which were deeper, have been alike deserted. Their produce, though equal to what it was originally, was not sufficient to support the expence of working them, which augmented every day. The mines of Quito, Cusco, and Arequipa, have experienced that revolution, which awaits many of the rest.

THERE are great numbers of very rich mines which the waters have invaded. The disposition of the ground

which

which from the ſummit of the Cordeleras goes continually ſhelving to the South Sea, muſt neceſſarily render theſe events more common at Peru than in other places. This inconvenience, which with greater care and ſkill might often have been prevented or diminiſhed, has been in ſome inſtances remedied. A ſingle inſtance will be ſufficient to ſhew that the avarice of mankind can ſtruggle againſt that of nature, when ſhe conceals or withdraws from us her treaſures.

Joseph Salcedo, about the year 1660, had diſcovered not far from the town of Puna, the mine of Laycacota. It was ſo rich, that they often cut the ſilver with a chiſel. Proſperity, which debaſes little minds, had ſo elevated that of the proprietor of ſo much opulence, that he permitted all the Spaniards who came to ſeek their fortune in this part of the new world to work ſome days on their own account, without weighing or taking any account of the preſents he made them. This generoſity drew around him an infinite number of people, whoſe avidity made them quarrel with each other; the love of money made them take up arms, and fall upon one another; and their benefactor, who had neglected no expedient to prevent and extinguiſh their ſanguinary contentions, was hanged as being the author of them. Whilſt he was in priſon, the water got poſſeſſion of his mine. Superſtition ſoon made it imagined that this was a puniſhment for the horrid act they had perpetrated againſt him. This idea of divine vengeance was revered for a long time; but at laſt in 1740, Diego de Bacna aſſociated with other opulent people, to avert the ſprings, which had deluged ſo much treaſure. The labours, which this difficult undertaking required, were not finiſhed till 1754. The mine yields as much now as it did at firſt. But mines ſtill richer than this have been diſcovered, which have experienced no revolution. Such, for example, is that of Potoſi, which

was found in the same country, where the Incas worked that of Porco.

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An Indian, named Huallpa, in 1545, pursuing some deer, in order to climb certain steep rocks laid hold of a bush, the roots of which loosened from the earth, and brought to view an ingot of silver. The Indian had recourse to it for his own use, and never failed to return to his treasure every time that his wants or his desires solicited him to it. The change that had happened in his fortune was remarked by his countryman Guanca, to whom he avowed the secret. The two friends could not keep their counsel and enjoy their good fortune. They quarrelled; on which the indiscreet confident discovered the whole to his master Villareal, a Spaniard that was settled in the neighbourhood. Upon this the mine became known and was worked; and a great number of them were found in its vicinity; the principal of which are in the northern part of the mountain, and their direction is from north to south. The most intelligent people of Peru have observed, that this is in general, the direction of the richest mines.

The fame of what was passing at Potosi soon spread abroad, and quickly there was built at the foot of the mountain, a town consisting of sixty thousand Indians, and ten thousand Spaniards. The sterility of the soil did not prevent it's being immediately peopled. Corn, fruits, flocks, American stuffs, European luxuries arrived there from every quarter. Industry which every where follows the current of money, could not search for it with so much success as at its source. It evidently appeared that in 1738 these mines produced annually 22,338,975 livres[f], without reckoning the silver which was not registered, and what had been carried off by fraud. From that time the produce has been so much

[f] Near 978,000l.

diminished,

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diminished, that no more than one eighth part of the coin which was formerly struck, is now made.

THE mine of Potosi, and all the mines of south America, in purifying their gold and silver, use mercury, with which they are supplied from Guanca Velica. Mercury, says an able naturalist, is found in two different states in the bosom of the earth; it is either altogether pure, and in the fluid form which is proper to it, and then it is denominated virgin mercury, because it has not experienced the action of fire, in order to be extracted from the mine; or it is found combined with sulphur, and then it forms a substance of a red colour which is more or less vivid, called cinnabar.

THUS the mine of virgin mercury, which was lately discovered at Montpellier under the buildings of the town itself, and for that reason will probably never be worked, there had been no others known in Europe, except those of Udria in Carniola. These are in a valley, at the foot of high mountains, which were called by the Romans *Alpes Juliæ*. They were discovered by chance in 1497. They are about nine hundred feet deep. The descent into them is by pits, as into all other mines. There are under ground an infinite number galleries, of which some are so low, that it is necessary to stoop in order to pass along, there are places where it is so hot, that if one stops ever so short a time, one is in a profuse sweat: it is from these subterraneous caverns that mercury is drawn. Some stones are replete with it to that degree, that when they are bruised, this substance issues out in the form of globules or drops. 'Tis found also in a species of clay: sometimes even this mercury is seen running down like rain, and oozes so copiously among the rocks which form the vaults of these subterraneous caverns, that a man has often gathered thirty-six pound of it in a day.

THERE

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THERE are ſome people ſo enamoured of the marvellous, that they prefer this mercury to the other; which is mere prejudice. Experience ſhews that the beſt mercury that can be uſed either in medicine or in metallurgy, is that which hath been extracted from cinnabar. In order to ſeparate the combination of ſulphur and mercury, which nature hath formed between theſe two volatile ſubſtances, recourſe muſt neceſſarily be had to the action of fire to which ſome intermediate ſubſtance muſt be joined. This is either the filings of ſteel or copper, or the regulus of antimony, or lime, or ſome fixed alkaline ſalt. This laſt ſpecies of mercury is drawn from Hungary, Sclavonia, Bohemia, Carinthia, Friuli, and Normandy, eſpecially from Almaden in Spain, which was a famous mine even in the time of the Romans, and which with that of Guança Velica has for ſome ſhort time contributed to ſerve the Spaniſh colonies.

THE common opinion is, that this laſt mine was diſcovered in 1564. The trade of mercury was then till free, it became an excluſive trade in 1571. At this period all the mines of mercury were ſhut, and that of Guança Velica alone was worked, the property of which the king reſerved to himſelf. It is not found to diminiſh. This mine is dug in a prodigiouſly large mountain, ſixty leagues from Lima. In its profound abyſs are ſeen ſtreets, ſquares, and a chapel, where the myſteries of religion on all feſtivals are celebrated. Millions of flambeaux are continually kept to enlighten it.

THE earth, which contains the quickſilver of this mine, is, according to the opinion of a celebrated traveller, of a whitiſh red, like ill burnt brick. It is pounded, and put into an earthern kiln, the upper part of which is a vault like an oven, ſomewhat of a ſpherical form. This is extended on an iron grate covered with earth, under

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which they keep up a gentle fire with the herb *icho*, which is fitter for this process than any other combustible matter, and the cutting of which on this account is prohibited twenty leagues round. The heat which penetrates this earth makes the pounded mineral so hot, that the quicksilver issues out of it volatilised in smoak. But as the upper part is closely stopped, the smoak finds no issue but by a small hole which has a communication with a series of earthern retorts that are round, and the necks of which are inserted into each other. There, this smoke circulates and condenses by means of a little water, which is at the bottom of each retort. The quicksilver then falls in a well formed liquid. Less of it is collected in the first than in the last retorts. They would all grow so hot as to break in pieces, if care was not taken to sprinkle them on the outside with water.

PRIVATE people at their own expence work the mine of Guança Velica. They are obliged to deliver to government at a stipulated price all the mercury they extract. As soon as they have the quantity which the demands of one year require, the work is suspended. Part of the mercury is sold on the spot, and the rest is sent to the royal magazines throughout all Peru, from whence it is delivered out at the same price as it is sold for in Mexico. This arrangement, which has occasioned many of the mines to drop, and prevented others from being opened, is inexcusable in the Spanish system. The court of Madrid, in this respect, merits the same reproaches as a ministry in other countries would incur, that would be blind enough to lay a duty on the implements of agriculture.

THE mine of Guança Velica generally affects those who work in it with convulsions: this and the other mines, which are not not less unhealthy, are all worked by the Peruvians. These unfortunate victims of an insatiable avarice are crowded all together and plunged naked into

into thoſe abyſſes, the greateſt part of which are deep and all exceſſively cold. Tyranny has invented this refinement in cruelty to render it impoſſible for any thing to eſcape its reſtleſs vigilance. If there are any wretches who long ſurvive ſuch barbarity, the uſe of cocoa preſerves them.

THE cocoa is a ſhrub which hardly ever riſes higher than from three to four feet; its fruit is diſpoſed in bunches. It is red when it begins to ripen, and black when it hath attained its maturity. Its leaf which is ſoft, of a pale green and reſembling that of the myrtle, is the delight of the Peruvians. They chew it after having mixed it with a white earth which they call *mambis*; they ſubſtitute it for food; it ſtrengthens their ſtomachs; it ſupports their courage. If thoſe who are buried in the mines are in want of it, they ceaſe working, and no means whatever can force them to reſume their labour. Their oppreſſors, therefore, furniſh them with as much as they require, ſubſtracting the price of it from their daily wages. The environs of Cuſco furniſh the beſt cocoa.

Mutual communication of the different provinces of Peru.

THIS plant, the other productions of the country, and all the fruits of induſtry, are diſperſed throughout the empire in three different ways. The towns ſituated on the coaſt are furniſhed with proviſions by veſſels that are adapted to thoſe ſeas, which are always calm. An innumerable multitude of mules, with which they are ſupplied from Tucuman, are the mediums of that connection which ſeveral provinces have with each other. The greateſt circulation is effected by means of the Guayaquil.

ON the banks of this river, which riſes in the Cordeleras, the Spaniards at the time of the conqueſt built a pretty conſiderable town, ſix leagues from the ſea. This is defended by three forts lately erected, and only garriſoned with burgeſſes. They are built with large pieces of wood, diſpoſed in palliſades. The nature of this

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wood, which is proof againſt water, ſuits the moiſture of the ſoil.

It is mentioned in the accounts of a Spaniſh philoſopher, that on this coaſt, as well as on that of Guatimala, is found the murex which yields that purple ſo celebrated by the antients, and which the moderns have imagined was loſt. The ſhell, which contains them, adheres to the rocks which the ſea waſhes. It is of the ſize of a large walnut. The liquor of this animal may be extracted two ways; ſome kill it, after they have drawn it out of the ſhell, then preſs it with a knife from head to tail, ſeparate from the body the part where the liquor is collected, and throw away the reſt. When this operation, after being repeated on ſeveral ſnails, has afforded a certain quantity of fluid, the thread intended to be dyed is dipped in it, and the proceſs is finiſhed. The colour, which is at firſt of the whiteneſs of milk, becomes afterwards green, and is not of a purple colour till the thread is dry. Thoſe who diſapprove this method, draw the fiſh partly out of its ſhell, and ſqueezing it make it yield a fluid which ſerves for dying: they repeat this operation four times at different intervals, but always with leſs ſucceſs. If they continue it, the fiſh dies, by their deſtroying that which conſtitutes the firſt principle of its life, and which it is no longer is able to renew. No colour at preſent known, can be compared to this of which we are ſpeaking, either as to luſtre, livelineſs, or duration; it ſucceeds better with cotton than with wool, linen, or ſilk.

Besides this object of curioſity, Guayaquil furniſhes the inland country of the empire with oxen, mules, ſalt, and ſalt fiſh; it ſupplies Europe and Mexico with a great quantity of cocoa, but Peru with but little, as there they generally prefer the herb of Paraguay. It is the univerſal dock-yard of the South Sea, and might, partly, become that of the mother country. We know no

country

country on the globe that equally abounds in wood for ship building and masts, either as to quality or quantity. Hemp and pitch, of which it is destitute, might easily be furnished by Chili and Guatimala.

But what renders Guayaquil still more considerable, is the advantage it possesses of being the necessary mart and bond of communication between the mountains of Peru and its valleys, with Panama and with Mexico. All the goods which these countries exchange, pass through the hands of its merchants. The largest vessels stop at the harbour of the island of Puna, which is situated at the entrance of the gulf, and others go up the river about forty leagues.

Notwithstanding so many sources of prosperity, the people of Guayaquil, whose numbers amount to twenty thousand souls, are far from being wealthy. The fortunes of its inhabitants have been successively overturned nine times by fires, which they have ascribed to the discontentedness of the negroes, and by pirates, who have twice sacked the town. Those fortunes, which have been acquired since these fatal æras, have not continued in the country. A climate, where the heat is intolerable the whole year, and the rains incessant for six months; where dangerous and noisome insects do not allow any tranquillity; where distempers of the most opposite degrees of temperature appear to be united; where one lives in the perpetual dread of losing one's sight, such a climate is by no means proper to fix the residence of its inhabitants. Such persons are only seen here, as have not acquired estates sufficient to enable them to remove elsewhere, and spend their days in indolence and pleasure. A taste, which predominates in the empire, induces the most opulent to reside at Lima.

This capital of Peru, so celebrated in all parts of the world, is situated at two leagues from the sea, in a

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delicious plain, at about an equal distance from the equator and the southern tropic, to unite as it were all the riches and delights of South America. The prospect from it on one side extends over a tranquil ocean, on the other it commands a distance of thirty leagues as far as the Cordeleras. The soil of its territory is nothing but a heap of flints, which the sea has undoubtedly in a series of ages piled together, but they are covered with earth a foot below the surface, which the spring water, that is every where found on digging, hath brought from the mountains. It is in vain that the Spaniards would attribute the origin of these waters to their being filtrated from the sea; the theory of the globe and its natural construction, testify against the truth of this opinion, which all experiments besides confirm to be false.

SUGAR canes, incredible multitudes of olives, some vines, artificial meads, pastures full of salt which give mutton an exquisite taste, small grain appropriated to the feeding of fowls, fruit trees of every kind, and certain other plantations, cover the surface of these fortunate plains. A sea replete with fish contributes its stores to render provisions plentiful at a moderate price. Crops of wheat and barley formerly augmented this variety of blessings; but an earthquake, about a century ago, caused such a revolution, that the seeds rotted without sprouting. After forty years of sterility, the husbandman seeing the soil improved, was disposed to resume his former occupations. Chili, which had an exclusive privilege of furnishing Lima with provisions, opposed the cultivation of its territory, and the metropolis of Spain did not allow that of Peru to support itself again by its own productions till 1750.

LIMA, founded more than two centuries ago, and built by the destroyers of Peru, was overturned at different times by eleven earthquakes. The twelfth, which happened on the 28th of October 1746, in three minutes time

time ingulphed the town, its harbour of Callao, all the vessels belonging to the coast, with fifteen hundred millions [s], as it is reported, of silver, either coined, worked, or in ingots. Those who had for a long time been sunk, as it were into a lethargy, have been awakened by this violent concussion. New activity, new emulation, have been productive of labour and industry. Lima, though less wealthy, is at present more agreeable than in 1682, when its gates presented to the view of the duke of Palata on his entering, streets paved with silver.

These streets now are only regular, with neat houses and public buildings which display skill and taste. The water of the river which washes its walls, has been collected and dispersed for the convenience of the citizens, the ornament of gardens and the fertility of the fields.

But these walls are defective from the very solidity of their foundations. At the distance of some leagues from Lima we see some houses that were formerly built, that were but just erected on the surface of the earth without any cement, which however have resisted those assaults and convulsions that have overturned the deep-laid edifices of the Spaniards. The natives of the country, when they saw the foundations dug, and then built with mortar, said that their tyrants dug graves for themselves. Perhaps, it was some consolation to the wretchedness of the conquered, to foresee that the earth itself would take its revenge of its depopulators; but in this respect two centuries of chastisement have not reformed them. The pleasure of having commodious houses, or the vanity of raising spacious ones, still triumphs over the danger of their being crushed to pieces.

The scourges of nature, which gave occasion to the introduction of the arts into Lima, have produced no

[s] 65,625,000l.

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happy revolution in the manners of its inhabitants. That ſuperſtition which reigns throughout the whole extent of the Spaniſh dominions, at Peru holds two ſceptres in her hand; one of gold, for the uſurping and triumphant nation; the other of iron, for its enſlaved and pillaged inhabitants. The ſcapulary and the roſary, are all the tokens of religion which the monks require of the Spaniards. It is on the form and colour of theſe kinds of taliſmans, that the populace and the grandees found the proſperity of their undertakings, the ſucceſs of their amorous intrigues, and the hopes of their ſalvation. The religious habit aſſumed in the laſt moments, conſtitutes the ſecurity of opulent people who have lived ill; they are convinced, that when wrapped in this cloathing, which is ſo formidable to the devil, he will not dare to deſcend into their graves, and ſeize upon their ſouls. If their aſhes repoſe near the altar, they hope to partake of the ſacrifices and prayers of the prieſts, much more than the poor and the ſlaves. After ſuch fatal prejudices, what enormities will they not commit to acquire riches, which ſecure their happineſs in this world, and the next. The vanity of immortalizing their name, and the promiſe of eternal life, convey over to the monks a fortune, which they can no longer enjoy; and families are diſappointed of an inheritance, whether acquired by honeſty or fraud, by legacies which go to enrich men who have found the ſecret of eſcaping poverty, by devoting themſelves to it. Thus it is that the order of ſentiments, ideas, and things is ſubverted; and the children of opulent parents are condemned to a forced miſery by the pious rapacity of a hoſt of voluntary mendicants. The French, Dutch, and Engliſh loſe their national prejudices by travelling; the Spaniard carries his along with him throughout the whole univerſe; and ſuch is the madneſs of bequeathing legacies to the church, that the ground of all the houſes of

Peru belongs to the prieſthood, or depends on them with regard to rent. The inſtitution of Monkiſh orders, has done at Peru what the law of the *Vacuf* will do ſooner or later at Conſtantinople. Here the people bequeath their fortunes to a minaret, in order to ſecure it to their heirs; there they deprive an heir of it by leaving it to a monaſtery from the dread of being damned. The means are a little different, but in the end, the effect is the ſame. In both countries, the church is the gulf, in which all the riches are abſorbed, and theſe Caſtilians, who were heretofore ſo formidable, ſhrink before ſuperſtition, as Aſiatic ſlaves do in the preſence of their deſpot.

If we were to judge of the Creoles from theſe extravagancies, we ſhould be tempted to believe them to be totally ſtupid; but we ſhould be miſtaken. The inhabitants of the valleys have ſome degree of penetration, and thoſe of the mountains are not deſtitute of it. Both deem themſelves very much ſuperior to the Spaniſh Europeans, whom they regard as *cavallos*, that is to ſay brutes.

They poſſeſs more underſtanding than courage. All theſe people, though diſſatisfied with government, are alike ſubmiſſive to it. Men every where forget their numbers and their ſtrength. There, even the very name of royal officers is formidable; and four ſoldiers, diſpatched by the viceroy, make whole towns tremble at the diſtance of four hundred leagues from the capital.

This timidity in a Peruvian, is the cauſe or the effect of his effeminacy. He lives among courtezans, or amuſes himſelf at home in drinking the herb of Paraguay. He is afraid to diminiſh the joys of love by confining it within legitimate bonds. The majority of the inhabitants marry behind the church, that is their expreſſion, which ſignifies living in a ſtate of concubinage. If the children, who iſſue from this commerce, are ac-

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knowledged by their parents, they inherit, and their birth incurs no ſtain. The biſhops anathematize every year at Eaſter, thoſe perſons who are united in theſe illicit bonds. But what power have theſe vain terrors over love, which is ſanctified by cuſtom, againſt the toleration or example of eccleſiaſtics of the ſecond order, and againſt the climate, which is continually contending and at laſt proves victorious over all the civil and religious laws that oppoſe their influence?

The charms of the Peruvian women are ſuperior to the terror which the ſpiritual arms of Rome inſpire. The majority of them, eſpecially the women of Lima, have eyes ſparkling with vivacity, a fair ſkin, a complexion that is delicate, animated, full of ſprightlineſs and life, and a ſlender and well-formed ſhape, which is very alluring. But that which has a greater effect on the men, is the ſmallneſs of a pretty foot, which in their infancy is faſhioned to this diminutiveneſs by ſtrait ſhoes. They turn away from the large feet of the Spaniſh women to admire thoſe of a Peruvian, who to the artifice of generally concealing them, adds the happy addreſs of ſometimes diſcovering them.

To theſe very ſmall feet we may add long treſſes, which might ſerve as a veil to modeſty, on account of their thickneſs and colour, and their natural diſpoſition to grow thick and long. The Lima women dreſs ſome of their hair very high on their head, but the reſt they ſuffer to fall on their ſhoulders in the form of ringlets, without buckling or curling it. They are ſo jealous of preſerving it in its own natural beauty, that they do not put the leaſt additional ornament to it. Pearls and diamonds are reſerved for ear rings, for large necklaces, for bracelets, for rings, for a plate of gold ſuſpended on the center of the boſom by a ribband which goes round the body. A woman that has no titles, and is not ennobled, ſeldom goes out full dreſſed, but ſhe diſplays

in jewels the value from an hundred to an hundred and fifty thousand livres [h]; yet it is the fashion to affect an indifference for these trifles. It is necessary that a woman should lose, or let fall, some of them without taking notice of it, that she should always have some jewel to replace or to add.

But what seduces the eyes and raises the most emotion, is a dress which leaves the bosom and the shoulders bare, and only descends to half way the leg. From thence to the ancle falls a lace, through which are seen the ends of garters embroidered with gold or silver, and ornamented with pearls. The linen, the petticoat, the habit, all is loaded with the finest lace. A woman seldom appears in public without being attended with three or four slaves, most of them mulatto women, in liveries as the men are, and adorned with lace as their mistresses.

These ladies are fond of perfumes. They are never without amber, they scent their linen and their cloaths with it, and even their nosegays, as if there were something wanting to the natural perfume of flowers. The amber is undoubtedly an additional allurement to the men, and the flowers impart a new attraction to the women. With these they adorn their sleeves, and sometimes their hair, like shepherdesses. In the great square of Lima, where there are every day sold flowers, to the amount of sixteen or twenty thousand livres [i], ladies are seen in gilt calashes, purchasing what is most rare without regard to the price, and men in crowds adoring and contemplating what nature has formed most charming to embellish and enchant the dream of life.

Where can these delights be enjoyed more than at Peru? It is the proper province of the women to feel and communicate them. Among other pleasures the women of Lima love music, of which they are ex-

[h] On an average about 5,500l. [i] Near 800l. on an average.

travagantly

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travagantly fond. Nothing is heard on every ſide but ſinging and concerts of vocal and inſtrumental muſic. They have frequent balls. They dance here with ſurprizing lightneſs, but they neglect the graces of the arms to attend to the agility of the feet, and eſpecially to the inflections of the body; which are images of the true emotions of voluptuouſneſs, as the expreſſion of the countenance, is the true accompaniment of dancing. As the arms conſpire to give grace to the attitude, ſo the ideas of pleaſure are ſtill more ſtrongly expreſſed by the body. In countries, where theſe ſenſations are moſt lively, dancing will agitate the feet and the body more than the arms.

SUCH are the pleaſures which the women taſte and diffuſe at Lima. Among many expedients to heighten and preſerve their charms, they have a cuſtom which it were to be wiſhed that they would conſent to abandon, which is the uſe of *limpion*. They give this name to ſmall rolls of tobacco, four inches long and nine lines in diameter, wrapped in the whiteſt thread, from which the tobacco is drawn out as it is uſed. The ladies only put the end of the limpion to their mouth, and chew it for a moment.

THIS maſtication is particularly uſed in public aſſemblies, where women receive company. Here is a drawing room, along one ſide of which runs an alcove half a foot high, and five or ſix feet broad; it is here that careleſly ſeated, and with croſſed legs on carpets and ſuperb cuſhions, they paſs whole days without changing their poſture even to eat; they uſe little tables, placed before them, for any work with which they chooſe to amuſe themſelves. The men, whom they admit to their converſation, ſit in elbow chairs, unleſs their adorers from greater intimacy, are permitted to deſcend in the alcove, which is, as it were, the ſanctuary of worſhip and of the idol. Yet theſe goddeſſes love rather to be affable than haughty;

haughty; and, baniſhing ceremony, they play on the harp and guitar, and ſing and dance when they are deſired. BOOK VII.

THEIR huſbands are not the perſons who are the chief objects of their complaiſance. As the greateſt part of the moſt conſiderable citizens of Lima are devoted to their courtezans, the great heireſſes are reſerved for Europeans, who come over into America. The advantage which theſe have of making the fortunes of their huſbands, naturally prompts them to domineer: but let them have the ſway of which they are ſo jealous, and they will prove conſtantly faithful. So particularly is virtue connected with a certain degree of pride!

THE manners of the Meſtees, and of the free Mulattoes, who compoſe the greateſt part of the inhabitants of Lima, and who retain the arts in their hands, hardly differ from the manners of the Spaniards. The habit they have contracted of ſleeping after dinner, and repoſing one part of the day, makes them ſet a greater price upon their labour than they ought. The time they devote to labour muſt procure them the conveniencies as well as the luxuries of life, which in general are carried very far. Their wives in particular value themſelves on the magnificence of their furniture and dreſs. They never go out but in carriages, and imitate the ladies of the firſt rank even with regard to their ſhoes. They habituate themſelves to preſs their feet very tight in order to hide their natural ſize, which is ſeldom corrected by this management. But though they carry their imitation ſo far as to form circles and aſſemblies, as they do, yet they never attain a perfect reſemblance to them. Their huſbands are ſtill further removed from the polite manners of the European Spaniard or the Creole, though there is but little real merit or genius in copying them. They are rude, haughty, and troubleſome; but theſe faults which

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which are irkſome in ſociety, are hardly carried to ſuch exceſſes or violences as to diſturb the public order.

THE whole commerce at Lima is exerciſed by the Spaniards, the number of whom is from fifteen to ſixteen thouſand. The capitals they employ in trade are immenſe. There are not in reality more than ten or twelve houſes whoſe capital exceeds two millions [k]; but a million [l] is very common, and five hundred thouſand livres [m] ſtill more ſo. The deſire of enjoying, the vanity of making an appearance, the paſſion of ornamenting churches, prevent the fortunes of the Creoles from advancing as high as the nature of things would admit. The European Spaniards, who are ſolely occupied in purſuing the plan of returning to their country, ſhew that with induſtry and oeconomy, people may very ſoon enrich themſelves. Merchants, who are in want of aſſiſtance, are ſure to find it in the poſterity of the conquerors of Peru. If ſome of theſe diſtinguiſhed families have perpetuated their ſplendor by entailing their eſtates upon their eldeſt ſons, and by the revenues alone of their eſtates, the greateſt part have only ſupported it by taking part in commercial tranſactions. A ſpecies of induſtry which is ſo honourable to human nature, whoſe underſtanding, power, and activity it enlarges, has never been deemed to derogate from their nobility; and, in this point alone, they have abandoned the falſe and romantic ideas of their anceſtors. Theſe means joined to the immenſe depoſits which come from the inland countries, have rendered Lima the center of all the tranſactions which the provinces of Peru are continually carrying on either among themſelves, or with Mexico and Chili, or with the mother country.

Communication of Peru with Europe.

THE ſtraits of Magellan appeared the only open way to form this laſt connection. The length of the paſſage, the terror inſpired by ſtormy and almoſt unknown

[k] 37,500l. [l] 43,750l. [m] 21,875l.

ſeas,

ſeas, the fear of exciting the ambition of other nations, the impoſſibility of finding an aſylum in caſe of unhappy accidents; and other conſiderations, perhaps, turned all their views towards Panama.

This town, which had been the gate through which they had entered into Peru, had riſen to great proſperity, when in 1670 it was pillaged and burnt by pirates. It was rebuilt on a more advantageous ſpot, at the diſtance of four or five miles from the firſt. Its harbour, called Perico, is very ſecure. It is formed by an archipelago conſiſting of forty eight ſmall iſlands, and is capable of containing the largeſt fleets.

This place, a little while after it was founded, became the capital of the kingdom of Terra Firma. Some hopes were at firſt entertained from the three provinces of Panama, Darien, and Veragua, which compoſed it; but this proſperity vaniſhed like lightning. The ſavages of Darien recovered their independence; and the mines of the two other provinces were found to be neither ſufficiently abundant, nor of an alloy good enough, to make it worth while to work them. Five or ſix ſmall boroughs, in which are ſeen ſome Europeans quite naked and a very ſmall number of Indians, who have come to reſide there, form the whole of this ſtate, which the Spaniards are not aſhamed of honouring with the great name of kingdom. It is in general barren and unwholeſome, and contributes nothing to trade but pearls.

The pearl fiſhery is carried on in the iſlands of the gulf. The greateſt part of the inhabitants employ ſuch of their negroes in it, who are good ſwimmers. Theſe ſlaves plunge and replunge in the ſea in ſearch of pearls, till this exerciſe has exhauſted their ſtrength or their ſpirits.

Every negro is obliged to deliver a fixed number of oyſters. Thoſe, in which there are no pearls, and thoſe, in which the pearl is not entirely formed, are not

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not reckoned. What he is able to find beyond the ſtipulated obligation, is conſidered as his indiſputable property: he may ſell it to whom he pleaſes, but commonly he cedes it to his maſter at a moderate price.

SEA monſters, which abound more about the iſlands where pearls are found than on the neighbouring coaſts, render this fiſhing dangerous. Some of theſe devour the divers in an inſtant. The manatee, which derives its name from its figure, ſurrounds them, rolls them under its body, and ſuffocates them. In order to defend themſelves againſt ſuch enemies, every fiſher is armed with a poinard: the moment he perceives any of theſe voracious fiſh, he attacks them with precaution, wounds them, and drives them away. Notwithſtanding this, there are always ſome fiſhermen deſtroyed, and a great number crippled.

THE pearls of Panama are commonly of a very fine water. Some of them are even remarkable for their ſize and figure: theſe were formerly ſold in Europe. Since art has imitated them, and the paſſion for diamonds has entirely ſuperſeded or prodigiouſly diminiſhed the uſe of them, they have found a new mart, more advantageous than the firſt. They are carried to Peru, where they are in great eſtimation.

THIS branch of trade has however infinitely leſs contributed to give reputation to Panama, than the advantage which it hath long enjoyed of being the mart of all the productions of the country of the Incas, that are deſtined for the old world. Theſe riches, which are brought hither by a ſmall fleet, were carried, ſome on mules, others by the river Chagre, to Porto Bello, that is ſituated on the northern coaſt of the iſthmus which ſeparates the two ſeas.

THOUGH the ſituation of this town was ſurveyed and approved by Columbus in 1502, it was not built till 1584, from the ruins of Nombre de Dios. It is

disposed in the form of a crescent, on the declivity of a mountain which environs the harbour. This celebrated harbour, which was formerly very well defended by forts which Admiral Vernon destroyed in 1740, seems to afford an entrance six hundred toises broad; but it is so straitened by rocks that are between wind and water, that it is reduced to a very narrow canal. Vessels are towed into it, because they always experience either contrary winds or a great calm. Here they enjoy perfect security.

The intemperature of the climate of Porto Bello is so notorious, that it has been named the grave of the Spaniards. More than once the galleons have been left here, because they had lost in this place the greatest part of their crew. The English who blockaded this place in 1726, would not have been able to have regained Jamaica, if they had waited some days longer. The inhabitants themselves do not live long, and have all a weak constitution. It is rather a disgrace to be obliged to reside here. Some negroes and mulattoes are to be found here, with a small number of white people, fixed by the employments that the government intrusts to them. The garrison itself, though only consisting of an hundred and fifty men, do not continue here more than three months together. Till the beginning of the present century no woman durst lie-in here: she would have deemed it devoting both her children and herself to certain death. It is an established fact, that the domestic animals of Europe which have prodigiously multiplied in all the parts of the new world, lose their fruitfulness on coming to Porto Bello; and if we may judge by the few that now are there, notwithstanding the abundance of pastures, we might be induced to believe that this opinion is not ill founded. The plants that are transplanted into this fatal region, where the heat, moisture, and the vapours are excessive and continual, have never prospered.

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proſpered. It would take up too much time to recount all the evils experienced here, it would be difficult to aſſign the cauſes of them, and, perhaps, impoſſible to point out the remedy.

THESE inconveniences prevented not Porto Bello from becoming at firſt the center of the richeſt commerce that ever exiſted. Whilſt the riches of the new world arrived there to be exchanged for the productions of the old, the veſſels that ſailed from Spain, and known by the name of galleons, came hither, laden with all the articles of neceſſity, convenience, and luxury, which could tempt the proprietors of the mines.

THE deputies for tranſacting this commerce on both ſides, regulated on board the admiral ſhip the price of goods, under the inſpection of the commander of the ſquadron and the preſident of Panama. The eſtimation was not adjuſted by the intrinſic value of each article, but by its ſcarcity or plenty. The ability of the agents conſiſted in forming their combinations ſo judiciouſly, that the cargo imported from Europe ſhould abſorb all the treaſures that were come from Peru. It was regarded as a bad market, when there were found goods neglected for want of money, or money not laid out for want of goods. In this caſe only, the Spaniſh merchants were allowed to go and traffic in the South Sea, and the Peruvian merchants were permitted to make remittances to the metropolis for their purchaſes.

As ſoon as the prices were ſettled, the traffic commenced. This was neither tedious nor difficult, it was carried on with the utmoſt frankneſs. Exchanges were made with ſo much honeſty, that they never opened their cheſts of piaſtres, nor proved the contents of their bales. This reciprocal confidence was never deceived. There were found more than once ſacks of gold mixed among ſacks of ſilver, and articles which were not entered on the invoice. All was exactly reſtored before

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the departure of the galleons, or on their return. There only happened in 1654 an event, which might have interrupted this confidence. It was found in Europe that all the piaſtres that were received at the laſt fair, had a fifth of alloy. The loſs was borne by the Spaniſh merchants; but as the treaſurer of the mint at Lima was known to be the author of this miſdemeanor, the reputation of the Peruvian merchants incurred no diſgrace.

THE fair, the duration of which on account of the noxious qualities of the air was limited to forty days, was regularly held. It is clear from the acts of 1595, that the galleons muſt have been diſpatched for Europe every year, or at the lateſt every eighteen months; and twelve fleets that ſailed from the fourth of Auguſt 1628 to the third of June 1645, prove that this rule was not ſtrictly obſerved. They came back at the end of eleven, ten, and ſometimes even eight months, with an hundred millions [n] and more, in gold, ſilver, and goods.

THIS proſperity continued without interruption to the middle of the ſeventeenth century. After the loſs of Jamaica, a conſiderable contraband trade took place, which till that time had been trifling. The ſacking of Panama in 1670, by John Morgan the Engliſh pirate, was attended with ſtill more fatal conſequences. Peru, which ſent thither its ſtock before-hand, now no longer tranſmitted it till after the arrival of the galleons at Carthagena. Delays, uncertainty, diſtruſt, were the conſequences of this change. The fairs were not much frequented, and ſmuggling increaſed.

SPAIN was threatened with a much greater evil. The Scots in 1690 landed twelve hundred men in the gulf of Darien. Their deſign was to gain the confidence of the ſavages, whom the Caſtilians had not been able to ſubdue, to arm them againſt a nation which they deteſted, to form a ſettlement on their territory, to

[n] 4,375,000l.

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break off the communication of Carthagena with Porto Bello, to intercept the galleons, and to unite their forces with those of Jamaica, in order to acquire a decisive superiority in this part of the new world.

This plan, which had nothing chimerical in it, displeased Louis XIV, who offered to the court of Madrid a fleet to frustrate its designs: it displeased the Dutch, who had reason to be afraid that this new company would one day divide with them the smuggling trade, which they monopolized in these latitudes: it was also disagreeable to Spain, which threatened to confiscate the effects of the subjects of Great Britain, who traded in her dominions. It was more particularly alarming to the English, who foresaw, that their colonists would abandon their old plantations, to go and reside on a territory teeming with gold; and that Scotland growing rich, would emerge from that state of dependence to which its poverty had hitherto reduced it. This violent and universal opposition determined King William to revoke a permission, which his favourites had extorted from him. He moreover prohibited all his colonies in the new world from furnishing either arms, provisions, or ammunition to a rising settlement, whose ruin would insure the public tranquillity. Thus was stifled in its infancy a colony, whose greatness did not appear to be remote, and must one day have been very considerable.

The Spaniards had scarce time to rejoice at this happy event. The elevation of a prince of France to the throne of Charles the V. kindled a general war; and at the commencement of the first hostilities, the galleons were burnt in the port of Vigo, where the impracticability of gaining Cadiz had forced them to take shelter. The communication of Spain with Porto Bello, was then totally interrupted; and the South Sea had more than ever direct and regular connections with strangers.

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THE peace of Utrecht, which ſeemed to promiſe a termination of theſe troubles, only ſerved to increaſe them. Philip V, who was forced to ſubmit, was compelled to withdraw the treaty of Aſſiento from the French, who being unſucceſsful in the whole courſe of the war, and at that time little acquainted with maritime commerce, had enjoyed this privilege from 1702, without deriving any conſiderable benefit from it. The French were ſucceeded by the Engliſh.

THE South Sea company, who enjoyed an excluſive privilege, were to furniſh four thouſand eight hundred Africans, and to pay the king of Spain 160 livres a head for every negro. They were obliged to give only half for thoſe they ſhould import above this number, during the twenty-five firſt years of the ſtipulation. In the five laſt they were prohibited to import beyond what was ſpecified in the contract.

THEY were permitted to ſhip from Europe, on board veſſels of an hundred and fifty tons burthen, in the north ſea, cloaths, medicines, proviſions, and equipment for their ſlaves, factors, and ſhips. They could ſell all theſe goods to Spaniſh veſſels who might have occaſion for them to return.

ON account of the diſtance, the company was authorized to build houſes on the river of Plata, to form lands in the neighbourhood of their factories, and get them cultivated by negroes or natives; that is to ſay, by means of this mart engroſs the whole commerce of Chili and Paraguay.

THEY had not leſs freedom with regard to the South ſea. They were permitted to freight at Panama, and in all the other ports on this coaſt, veſſels of four hundred tons burthen, to convey their negroes to all the coaſts of Peru, to equip them as they pleaſed, to nominate the commanders of them, to bring back the pro-

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duce of their ſales in proviſions, in gold, or in ſilver, without being ſubject to any duty of import or export. They might ſend to Porto-Bello, and convey from thence to Panama, every thing that was neceſſary for the fitting out of the ſhips they ſhould ſend.

THOUGH theſe conceſſions, muſt have been very diſagreeable to Spain, the Engliſh knew how to avail themſelves of their ſuperiority, and compelled her to a ſtill more painful ſubmiſſion. They obtained the permiſſion of ſending every year a veſſel laden with merchandiſe to the fair of Porto-Bello. It always arrived with a thouſand tons burthen, inſtead of five hundred which it was allowed to carry. It was neither furniſhed with water, nor proviſions. Four or five veſſels which followed it, ſupplied its wants; and frequently ſubſtituted goods in the place of ſuch as had been ſold. The galleons, ruined by this competition, were alſo greatly detrimented by every thing that the Engliſh poured into their ports where they carried negroes. At laſt, after the expedition of 1737, it was impoſſible to ſupport this commerce any longer, and a ſtop was put to thoſe famous fairs envied by all nations, though they might be regarded as the common treaſure of all people. From that æra, Panama and Porto-Bello have aſtoniſhingly declined. Theſe two towns now only ſerve as a paſſage to the negroes that are carried into the South Sea, and to ſome other inconſiderable branches of a decaying traffic. Affairs of greater importance have been turned into another channel.

IT is well known that Magellan in 1520 diſcovered the famous ſtrait that bears his name, and which ſeparates the extremity of South America from Terra del Fuego. This ſtrait is computed to be near an hundred and ten leagues long, and in ſome places leſs than a league broad. Though it was for a long time the only paſſage known into the South Sea, the dangers incurred there

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caused it almost to be forgotten. The boldness of Drake the celebrated navigator, who by this way carried his ravages on the coasts of Peru, determined the Spaniards in 1582 to form at the straits of Magellan, a settlement, destined to become the key of this part of the new world. This new colony perished almost entirely for want of provisions. Three years after, Fernando Gomez only was left there, who was brought back into Europe by the English pirate Thomas Cavendish.

The loss of this colony, was not so great an evil as it was apprehended to be. The straits of Magellan soon ceased to be the road of those pirates who were urged by their mercenary views to visit these remote regions. Some bold navigators having doubled Cape Horn, this became afterwards the way which the enemies of Spain followed, who designed passing into the South Sea. It was still more frequented by French vessels, during the war which caused such confusion in Europe at the beginning of the present century. The impossibility which Philip V. experienced to furnish his colonies himself with provisions, emboldened the subjects of his grandfather to go to Peru. The want of every thing which they then experienced, made the French to be received with joy; and at first they got a profit of eight hundred per cent. These enormous profits were not continued. The competition at last was so considerable, the goods fell into such disrepute that it was impossible to sell them, and several privateers burnt them, that they might not be obliged to carry them back into their country. The equilibrium was not long in re-establishing itself; and these foreign traders made advantages that were considerable, when the court of Madrid in 1718 took effectual measures to remove them from these latitudes, which they had but too long frequented.

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AT this time the expeditions to the south sea by Cape Horn were discontinued. The Spaniards themselves resumed them in 1740 with tolerable advantage. They flattered themselves that at the expiration of the treaty of Assiento, that of Peru would resume its former activity. They must have been undeceived since that time. The colony has not furnished a greater quantity of bark, of the wool of the Vicuna, and cocoa, than before, and the mines proved to be so considerably diminished, that the annual returns in gold and silver did not exceed seventeen millions[p]. There was no part even of this sum for government; because though the same duties are established at Peru as in Mexico and all the other settlements, the expences of adminstration have swallowed up the whole.

General remarks on new Grenada, which was detached from Peru.

THINGS were not conducted with more knowledge, probity, and oeconomy in the vice-royalty of new Grenada, which was separated from that of Peru. This new dominion, which was formed in 1718, extends along the south sea from Panama to the gulph of Guyaquil; along the north sea from Mexico to the river Oroonoko, and goes so far back by land, that it comprehends an immense territory.

THE numerous provinces, that compose this great government, are covered with immense forests, separated by high mountains, and abounding with uncultivated lands. These vast regions have not been entirely subdued. Here savages are to be met with in all parts, who have no other passion but that of surprising and massacring the Spaniards. Such even of the Indians who have been forced to undergo the yoke, have vowed an implacable hatred against their tyrants. Their first concern is to perpetuate this animosity in their family. They incessantly call to their children's remembrance the calamities which marked the first arrival of

[p] Near 744,000 l.

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the deſtroyers of the new world, and that ſanguinary ſpirit which hath never ceaſed to animate their ſucceſſors.

At the time of the conqueſt, this country was inhabited by an infinite number of nations that were not populous, the greateſt part of whom led a wandering life, and were moſt of them ferocious and indolent. The men here were more active, the women more beautiful and fair than in the neighbouring climates. The country being at a conſiderable diſtance from any of the great rivers, twenty, thirty and forty leagues may ſometimes be croſſed without meeting with a hut. Since the time of the invaſion, this ſcanty population hath ſcarce ſuffered any diminution; becauſe there has been no deſtructive labour carried on there, and that the ſubjected people have not been condemned to work in the mines. It is ſeldom that any thing is exacted from them beſides the tribute impoſed. Some pay this in proviſions; others in gold, which they find in the torrents or rivers. There are others who fulfil this kind of obligation from the profits they make on certain European goods, which they ſell to the Indians who have not yet been ſubdued.

Remarks on the country of Quito.

The country of Quito, which hath been incorporated with what is called the new Kingdom, is the beſt known and the moſt agreeable part of it. Nothing, for inſtance, can be compared to the valley formed between the double chain of the Cordeleras mountains.

In the center of the torrid zone, immediately under the equator, all the beauties of ſpring are inceſſantly enjoyed. The mildneſs of the air, the equality of day and night, yield a thouſand delights in a country which the ſun ſurrounds with a girdle of fire. It is preferred to the climate of the temperate zones, where the change of the ſeaſons occaſions ſenſations too

much oppoſite not be inconvenient from that very inequality. Nature appears to have combined under the line that covers ſo many ſeas and ſo little land, a multitude of circumſtances which conſpire to moderate the ardour of the ſun; theſe are the elevation of the globe in this ſummit of its ſphere; the vicinity of mountains of immenſe height and extent, and always covered with ſnows; and continual winds which refreſh the country the whole year, by interrupting the force of the perpendicular rays of heat. The whole univerſe would not afford a more agreeable retreat than the territory of Quito, if ſo many advantages were not counterbalanced by ſome inconveniences.

At one or two o'clock after noon, the time when the morning, which is almoſt always very fine, ends, the vapours begin to riſe, and the ſky is covered with gloomy clouds which are changed into ſtorms. Then the whole atmoſphere is illuminated, and appears to be ſet on fire by lightning: the thunder makes the mountains reſound with a terrible noiſe. To theſe may be added dreadful earthquakes which ſometimes happen: at other times rain or ſunſhine prevails without intermiſſion for fifteen days together; and then there is an univerſal conſternation. The exceſs of moiſture ſpoils what is ſown, and drought produces dangerous diſeaſes.

But excepting theſe unhappy accidents, which are very rare, the climate of Quito is one of the moſt wholeſome. The air is generally ſo pure, that thoſe nauſeous inſects are there unknown which diſtreſs the greateſt part of the provinces of America. Though profligacy and negligence render venereal complaints here almoſt general, the people ſuffer very little from them. Thoſe who have inherited this contagious diſtemper, or who have acquired it, grow old equally without danger and without inconvenience.

THE fertility of the ſoil anſwers to the mildneſs of the climate. The moiſture and the action of the ſun, being continual and always ſufficient to unfold and ſtrengthen the ſhoots, the agreeable picture of the three moſt beautiful ſeaſons of the year are continually preſented to the eye. In proportion as the graſs withers, freſh graſs ſhoots up; and the enamel of the meadows, is hardly paſt, but it ſprings up again. The trees are inceſſantly covered with green leaves, adorned with odoriferous flowers; and always laden with fruit, whoſe colour, form and beauty are at once exhibited in all their ſeveral progreſſive ſtates from their firſt appearance to their maturity. The corn advances in the ſame progreſſion of fertility that is always renewing. At one view we may behold the new ſown ſeed ſpringing up, ſome that is grown larger and ſpiked with ears, ſome turning yellow, and ſome under the reapers ſickle. The whole year is paſſed in ſowing and reaping, within the compaſs of the ſame field, or the ſame horizon. This conſtant variety depends on the ſituation of the mountains, hillocks, plains, and valleys.

THIS plenty of corn, maize, ſugar, flocks, and all proviſions, and the low price at which the impoſſibility of exporting them neceſſarily keeps them, has ſunk the whole province, eſpecially the capital in the greateſt idleneſs and diſorder.

QUITO, which was conquered by the Spaniards in 1534, and is built on the declivity of the famous mountain of Pitchincha in the Cordeleras, may have fifty thouſand inhabitants, the greateſt part of whom are abandoned to ſhameful and habitual debauchery. Though ſuch manners are common in all the Spaniſh colonies, they have not been carried in any other ſpot to the ſame exceſs of corruption. Among the various paſſions, which have there been indulged with the moſt

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most licentious freedom, that of gaming has always been most destructive in its consequences.

THOUGH it is prohibited by law to carry a poniard, yet the mestees, free negroes, or slaves, are seldom without one. Thus it is, that every week, and almost every day, is marked by assassination. The abuse of those asylums, which secure impunity to such horrid acts, is the principal cause of these disorders. It is to be hoped that the excess of the evil will point out the necessity of a remedy.

THE metropolis continually imputed to this depravity of manners, the ruin of those gold and silver mines that were opened at the time of the conquest, and the neglect of those that have been since gradually discovered. The province, it is asserted, might apply to this kind of industry with so much the more success, as it is better peopled with Indians and Spaniards than any other country of the new world, and derives from itself prodigious plenty of excellent provisions, which in other parts must be fetched from a great distance, and at a very considerable expence. Then this country, formerly so opulent, might again become what it once was, and resume a lustre which prejudice and the turn of the place, will always prevent its deriving from its own agriculture and manufactures.

THE Spaniards born at Quito, and those that are sent from Europe to take the administration of it, find these reproaches ill founded. They generally think that the mines of this province are not in sufficient abundance to defray the charge of working them. We cannot pretend to decide this point. Yet if we only reflect on the ardour that these conquerors manifested for this species of riches, which without any labour on their part cost them nothing but the blood of those who were in possession of it, we may venture to conclude that nothing but an entire impossibility, founded on experi-

ence, could determine this nation to deny itſelf the purſuit of its natural inclinations, and reſiſt the urgent ſollicitations of the metropolis.

THE province of Quito has endeavoured to make up the deficiency of its mines, by the produce of its manufactures. A prodigious quantity of hats, common cloth, light ſtuffs, and baize is made here. Excluſive of its home conſumption, it hath now annually exported for a long time to the amount of five or ſix millions of livres [9]. With this aſſiſtance it has been enabled to pay for the wines, brandies, and oils, that it was never allowed to draw from its own territory; for the dried and ſalted fiſh which was brought from the coaſts; for the ſoap which is made at Truxillo from the fat of goats, which have exceedingly multiplied there; for the iron uſed in all their works of agriculture; and for all thoſe objects of luxury it was ſupplied with from the old world. This traffic has diminiſhed more than one half. At all times the inhabitants of the province kept up the pride of dreſſing in European cloth, known throughout all America by the name of the cloth of Caſtille. This taſte is become general ſince the regiſter ſhips have been ſubſtituted to the galleons. The facility of being continually ſupplied with theſe ſtuffs, and of getting them at a lower price, has ruined the manufactures of Quito, which has been reduced to extreme wretchedneſs.

THE country will never emerge from this languiſhing condition by its connections with Spain, to which it furniſhes nothing but bark. The tree, which yields this famous remedy, is ſeldom more than two toiſes and a half high; its trunk and branches are of a proportional thickneſs; it grows in foreſts promiſcuouſly amongſt many other plants, and is propagated by ſeeds which fall to the ground of themſelves. The only

[9] On an average about 240,000 l.

valuable

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valuable part of it is its bark, which is no otherwise prepared than by drying it. The thickeſt was always preferred till ſome accurate experiments made in England and frequently repeated, have ſhewn that the thinneſt bark was the moſt efficacious.

It was long believed that the bark tree was only found on the territory of Loxa, a town that was founded in 1546 by captain Alonſo de Mercadillo. That which was in the higheſt eſtimation grew two leagues to the ſouth of this place on the mountain of Cajanuma; and it is not more than fifty years ago, that ſome merchants endeavoured to prove by certificates, that the bark which they ſold came from this famous place. This remedy has lately been diſcovered in the neighbourhood of Riobamba, Cuenca, and ſome other countries, all in the province of Quito.

The bark was known at Rome in 1639. The jeſuits, who had brought it thither, diſtributed it gratis to the poor, and ſold it at an exorbitant price to the rich. The year following, John de Vega, phyſician to a vice-queen of Peru, who had experienced the ſalutary effects of it, eſtabliſhed it in Spain at an hundred crowns a pound †. This remedy ſoon acquired great reputation, which is maintained, till the inhabitants of Loxa, not being able to ſupply the demands that were made on them, thought of mixing other barks with that which was ſo much in vogue. This fraud diminiſhed the confidence that had been placed in the bark, and conſequently its price. The meaſures, which the court of Madrid employed to remedy ſo dangerous an impoſition, were not entirely ſucceſsful. The late diſcoveries muſt have rendered this production ſo common, that it does not appear probable that they continue to adulterate it.

† About 13 l.

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It is a generally received opinion, that the natives of the country very antiently knew the uſe of the bark. It is ſaid, that they infuſed it a whole day in water, and gave the liquor to a ſick man to drink without the grounds. The fear of revealing ſo ſalutary a remedy to the Spaniards their tyrants, made them renounce it themſelves. They had ſo thoroughly loſt the remembrance of it, that they imagined it was uſed in Europe only for dying. Juſſieu, a French botaniſt, informed them of the contrary about thirty years ago. He taught them to diſtinguiſh the middling ſort of bark from the good, and from the moſt excellent of its kind; and accuſtomed them to have recourſe, as we have, to its ſpecific virtue in intermitting fevers.

These people have not paid the ſame attention to the advices of intelligent perſons who were deſirous of perſuading them to cultivate cochineal. This is found, in certain countries of the province, ſimilar in every reſpect to the cochineal of New Spain. It is uſed in the manufactures of Loxa and Cuença, to which circumſtance may be aſcribed the ſuperiority of their ſtuffs and carpets to thoſe of Quito, where it is not uſed. If the Spaniards can ever be rouzed from their inactivity to purſue this ſpecies of induſtry, they will open to themſelves a new branch of commerce with Europe which they may enlarge, if they pleaſe, by the produce of cinnamon.

Towards the eaſtern ſide of the Cordeleras, are ſituated the countries of Quixos and Macas, which were ſubdued in 1559, and annexed to the province of Quito. There are only ſome ſcattered and miſerable villages there. The firſt of theſe countries was never of any uſe to the metropolis; and the ſecond hath ceaſed to be ſo, from the time when the inſurrection of the Indians occaſioned the rich mines, which they had opened there, to be abandonned. Both produce cinnamon, which is

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in common uſe in Peru, and which might be much further extended, if they would beſtow proper attention upon the cultivation of it.

Remarks on Popayan and Chaco.

TILL the province of Quito ſhall exert its own natural advantages, the riches of New Grenada are limited to the metals of Popayan and Chaco, two provinces that were conquered in 1536. The barrenneſs of theſe countries at firſt induced them to judge unfavourably of their acquiſition; but theſe important diſcoveries ſoon ſtamped a value on them. They found gold mines, by ſo much the more valuable, as the working of them is neither expenſive, difficult, nor hazardous.

THE mineral is ſcattered and mixed with the earth and gravel: this mixture is carried into a large reſervoir, where it is pounded till the lighteſt parts eſcape from the reſervoir by a pipe which ſerves to carry off the water. Then the workmen take the heavy matter, that is to ſay, the ſand and metal which remain at the bottom, and put them into wooden buckets which they turn circularly by a quick and uniform motion. They change the water, and continue to ſeparate the light matter from the heavy. At laſt there remains at the bottom of theſe tubs nothing but gold cleared of all the extraneous bodies with which it had been mixed. It is generally found in duſt, ſometimes in grains of different ſizes. The ſame operation is repeated in the ſecond and third reſervoirs, that are placed under the firſt to receive the light parts of the gold that may have been carried away from the firſt baſon by the running of the water. Some of the workmen are employed in working it, while others dig up the earth and carry it away. The labour is never interrupted.

THESE works are carried on by about eight thouſand blacks. Theſe ſlaves, who are never employed in mines of any depth, becauſe the cold there kills them, are reſerved for thoſe mines which are near the ſurface of the earth.

earth. They may every where be employed without endangering their life: they are preferred to the Indians who have leſs capacity and ſtrength than them, and eſpecially leſs of that good will which gives ſtrength and capacity. It is univerſally the cuſtom in Popayan and Chaco, that they deliver every day to their maſter a certain portion of gold; what they can collect above this quantity belongs to themſelves, as well as what they find on thoſe days that are conſecrated to religion and reſt, on which they are the maſters of their leiſure time, on condition that during the feſtival they maintain themſelves. This agreement puts the moſt laborious, the moſt frugal, and the moſt happy among them in a condition of purchaſing ſooner or later their liberty. Then they intermix in marriage with the Spaniards. The two nations form only one and the ſame people.

Remarks on Santa Fè.

THE produce of their induſtry is carried to Santa Fè of Bogota, which was built in 1536 by Gonſalvo Ximenes de Queſeda in a place where he arrived from the north ſea by the river of Magdelena, preciſely at the ſame time as Sebaſtian de Benalcazar came there, from Popayan. Some violent conteſt immediately aroſe to ſettle the boundaries between theſe two conquerors, which terminated in favour of Queſeda. The city which he had built became the capital of the new kingdom of Grenada, where in proceſs of time were formed the towns of Marequita, Pampeluna, Tocayma, and ſome others leſs conſiderable.

THIS colony was indebted for its firſt proſperity to the emerald, a precious ſtone, which is tranſparent and of a green colour, and which has no greater hardneſs than the rock cryſtal.

SOME countries of Europe furniſh emeralds, but they are of a very imperfect kind, and in little eſtimation.

IT was for a long time believed that emeralds of a bright green came from the Eaſt Indies, and it is on this account

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count that they have called them oriental. This opinion has been rejected, since it has been found impossible to tell the places whence they were found. It is now certain that Asia has never sold us any of these jewels except what she herself had received from the new world.

These beautiful emeralds belong certainly to America alone. The first conquerors of Peru found a great quantity of them, which they broke on anvils, from a persuasion they had that they would not break if they were fine. This loss became the more sensibly felt through the impossibility of discovering the mine from whence the Incas had drawn so much treasure. The mountains of New Grenada at last filled up this void; they furnished a great quantity of emeralds, which were carried to Europe, from whence they were diffused throughout the whole world.

The Spanish historians speak with enthusiasm of the emeralds and metals which this colony originally furnished. Some make the produce amount to sums which would even astonish persons who have the greatest propensity to the marvellous. Exaggeration perhaps has never been carried so far. If the fabulous reports that were raised, had only been approaching to the truth, the colonists would have multiplied in proportion to their riches, as it hath happened in all the settlements that possess indisputable opulence. This population does not exist, and no cause can be alledged in which there were any remarkable emigrations.

Let this be as it may, these countries which are supposed formerly to have been so renowned, are fallen into the greatest obscurity: if Santa Fe has in some degree rescued itself from oblivion, it does not derive this advantage from its productions, which are reduced to a small quantity of tobacco of an indifferent quality that is disposed of in the inland country, to a little corn which serves to supply Carthagena with provision of

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this kind, and to a ſmall number of emeralds, and a little quantity of gold, furniſhed by the valley of Neyva. The attention ſtill beſtowed upon it is in conſequence of the happineſs it has of being the ſeat of government, the center of all buſineſs, and the mart of the riches of Popayan and Chaco.

THESE riches are carried on mules five hundred leagues, and embarked at Honda on the river of Magdalena, upon ſmall veſſels. After a few days ſailing they enter into a channel which was formed by nature, but enlarged about the middle of the laſt century, which brings them to Carthagena. In the ſeaſons when this channel is without water, and through the negligence of government it will ſoon be without it in all ſeaſons, the voyage is carried on upon the river, till they arrive at three days journey from this celebrated town, which they afterwards travel to by land.

Remarks on Carthagena.

THE place, where Carthagena is at preſent ſituated, was diſcovered in 1502 by Baſtidas, who would have ſettled there, if he had not been repulſed by the ſavages. Several adventurers of his nation, who followed his footſteps, experienced the ſame reſiſtence. At laſt Heredia appeared in 1527 with a force ſufficient to reduce them. He built and peopled the town.

THE proſperity of this ſettlement drew thither in 1544 ſome French pirates who pillaged it. In 1585 it was burnt by the celebrated Drake. Pointis took it and ranſomed it in 1697. Admiral Vernon was obliged in 1741 to raiſe the ſiege of it, though he had undertaken it with twenty-five ſhips of the line, ſix fire ſhips, two bomb ketches, and as many land forces as were ſufficient to conquer all America.

AFTER ſo many revolutions, Carthagena now ſubſiſts in ſplendour in a peninſula of ſand, which is joined to the continent only by two narrow necks of land, the broadeſt of which is not thirty-five toiſes. Its for-

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tifications are regular. Nature has placed at a little diſtance a hill of tolerable height, on which they have built the citadel of St. Lazarus. In time of peace theſe works are defended by a garriſon of between ſix and ſeven hundred men. The town is one of the beſt built, the moſt regular and beſt diſpoſed of any in the new world. It may contain twenty five thouſand ſouls. Of this number the Spaniards form the ſixth part, the negroes, Indians, and ſeveral races compoſed of mixtures of an infinite variety, make up the remainder.

THIS mixture is more common at Carthagena, than in the other Spaniſh colonies. A multitude of adventurers without employment, without fortune, and without recommendations, are continually reſorting to this place. In a country where nobody knows them, no citizen can venture to repoſe any confidence in their ſervices; they are deſtined to ſubſiſt wretchedly on the alms of the convents, and to lye in the corner of a ſquare, or at the gate of a church. If the afflictions they experience in this miſerable ſtate, occaſion ſome great diſorder, they are commonly aſſiſted by the free negro women, whoſe care and kindneſs they requite by marrying them. Such who have not the happineſs of being in a ſituation dreadful enough to excite the compaſſion of the women, are obliged to retire to ſome village to live there by cultivating the ground, and reaping the fruit of their labours; which the haughty lazineſs of the inhabitants conſiders as the utmoſt ignominy. In reality, indolence is carried ſo far, that men and women that are wealthy ſeldom quit their hammocks, and that but for a little time.

TWO celebrated Spaniards have judged the climate to be one of the principal cauſes of this inactivity. The heat is exceſſive and continual at Carthagena. The torrents of water, which are inceſſantly pouring down from

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the month of May to November, have this peculiarity that they never cool the air, which is ſometimes a little moderated in the dry ſeaſon by the north-eaſt winds. The night is as hot as the day. An habitual perſpiration gives the inhabitants the pale and livid colour of ſickly perſons. Even when they are perfectly well, their motions partake of the ſoftneſs of the climate, which evidently relaxes their fibres. This indolence manifeſts itſelf even in their words, which are always uttered ſlowly and with a low voice. Thoſe who come hither from Europe preſerve their freſh complexions, and plumpneſs three or four months. They afterwards loſe both by falling into inceſſant ſweats.

THIS ſtate is the forerunner of an evil ſtill more dreadful, but the nature of which is little known. It is conjectured that ſome perſons have it from catching cold, others from indigeſtion. It manifeſts itſelf by a vomiting accompanied with ſo violent a delirium, that the patient muſt be bound, to prevent him from tearing himſelf to pieces. He often expires in the midſt of theſe agitations, which ſeldom laſt above three or four days. Thoſe who have eſcaped this danger at firſt, run no riſque for the future. Intelligent witneſſes even aſſure us, that upon returning to Carthagena after a long abſence, they have nothing to fear.

THIS town and its territory exhibit the ſpectacle of a hideous leproſy, which indiſcriminately attacks both natives and ſtrangers. The philoſophers, who have attempted to aſcribe this calamity to the eating of pork, have not conſidered that this diſtemper is unknown in the other countries of America, where this kind of food is not leſs common. In order to ſtop the contagion, they have founded an hoſpital in the country. All perſons who are ſuppoſed to be attacked with it are ſhut up here, without diſtinction of ſex, rank, or age. The benefit

of so wise an establishment is lost through the avarice of the governors, who without being deterred by the danger of communication, suffer the poor to come in and out to beg. Thus it is that the number of the sick is so great, that the inclosure of the dwelling is of an immense extent. Every one there enjoys a little spot of ground that they mark out for him at his entrance. There he builds an abode suitable to his fortune, where he lives in tranquillity to the end of his days, which are often long though unhappy. This disorder so powerfully excites that passion, which is the strongest of all others, that it has been judged necessary to permit marriage to such as are afflicted with it. This is, perhaps, increasing the passion, by increasing the means of satisfying it. These desires appear to be irritated by the very gratification of them, they increase by their very remedies, and are reproduced by each other. The wretchedness of beholding this ardent disease, which runs in the blood, perpetuated in the children, has given way to the dread of other disorders that are, perhaps, chimerical.

If we were less acquainted with the negligent disposition of the Spaniards, we might persuade them to make an experiment which, probably, would be attended with success. There are some people in Africa that are situated nearly under the same latitude, who have a custom of rubbing the body with an oil that is expressed from the fruit of a tree that is like the palm. This oil is of a disagreeable smell, but has the salutary property of stopping the pores of the skin, and checking the sweat which the heat of the climate would render excessive, especially during three months of the year, in which a dreadful calm hangs over those countries. If a similar method were tried at Carthagena, perhaps the leprosy might be restrained or even totally abolished. We know that those that are attacked with this disease, perspire no longer, and that their skin is hard and scaly.

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Would it be repugnant to the principles of ſound philoſophy, to attribute it to too copious a perſpiration, which impoveriſhes the fibres of the ſkin, and renders them incapable of performing their functions. The uſe of an oil or greaſe fit to diminiſh this exceſſive perſpiration, and at the ſame time prevents its total ſuppreſſion, ſeems to be the method indicated by nature to prevent the calamity we are now ſpeaking of.

NOTWITHSTANDING this diſtemper, notwithſtanding the badneſs of the climate, notwithſtanding many other inconveniencies, Spain hath always ſhewed a great predilection for Carthagena on account of its harbour, one of the beſt that is known. It is two leagues in extent, and has a deep and excellent bottom. There is leſs agitation there, than on the moſt calm river. The paſſage to it formerly was ſolely by the canal of Boca Chica. This was ſo narrow, that only one veſſel could paſs, being defended by the croſs batteries of forts erected on both ſides of it. The Engliſh in 1741, having deſtroyed the fortifications that defended this paſſage, it was ſhut by the Spaniards. An antient canal was opened, which was diſpoſed in ſuch a manner, that it will not be eaſy for an enemy's ſquadron to force it. This is the way by which all veſſels now enter into the harbour.

AT the time that the trade of Peru was carried on by the galleons, theſe veſſels failed to Carthagena before they went to Porto Bello, and viſited it again on their return. In the firſt voyage, they depoſited the merchandiſe that was neceſſary for the interior provinces, and received the price of it in the ſecond. This arrangement diſpleaſed the merchants of Lima, who pretended that when they came back from the fair, they found all their country provided with the ſame things which they had been to fetch at a great diſtance. They petitioned, and

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and they obtained that Carthagena ſhould not be ſtocked till after Porto Bello.

By this reſtriction the provinces of Santa Fè, Popayan and Quito, were reduced, either to draw at a great expence and with great hazard what they wanted from the fair itſelf, or to content themſelves with the refuſe of it. This arrangement, which continued ſeveral years, was extremely diſpleaſing to them. They deviſed in 1730 a conciliating ſcheme, which ſeemed proper to reconcile the differences. It was agreed that things ſhould be re-eſtabliſhed on the old footing, but that at the arrival of the galleons, the traffic of European goods ſhould ceaſe between the two vice-royalties. Spain had not yet made ſufficient progreſs in the knowledge of political oeconomy to be ſenſible how far ſuch a regulation was contrary to her intereſt.

The act of ſtopping the galleons made no change in this conduct. The veſſels which ſucceſſively came to Carthagena to ſupply New Grenada with proviſions, do not 'annually carry away above five millions'. Thoſe who know that there is more than double this ſum coined in the mint of Santa Fè, the only money that exiſts in the country ſince that of Popayan was ſuppreſſed, and who cannot alſo be ignorant that all the gold which the mines produce cannot poſſibly be coined there, will be amazed at the ſmallneſs of theſe returns. Their ſurprize will ceaſe, if they will but conſider the quantity of gold that is fraudulently exported. Smuggling is carried on in ſeveral places on the coaſt. The riches of Chaco are chiefly conveyed away by the river of Atrato, which falls into the gulf of Darien, and thoſe of Popayan by the different mouths of the Magdalena, which it is impoſſible to guard. Spain will never ſucceed in breaking theſe ſmuggling connections, unleſs ſhe abandons her old maxims. A

' Not quite 219,000l.

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more rational ſyſtem would not only retain in her hands the treaſures ſhe has loſt, but would alſo give a new value to the only lands of the viceroyalty that are cultivated with emolument to the metropolis.

Remarks on the countries ſituated between the rivers Magdalena, and the Oroonoko.

BETWEEN the rivers of Magdalena and Oroonoko is a long ſeries of coaſts which occupy an immenſe ſpace. Theſe were diſcovered in 1499 by Ojeda, John de la Caſas, and Americus Veſputius, who landed with four ſhips at a place which they called Venezuela, from the reſemblance it appeared to them to have with Venice. The ſettlements which theſe adventurers and their followers attempted on the continent, were not formed with the ſame eaſe as thoſe in the iſlands. The ſavages, who were accuſtomed to make war upon one another, reſiſted them with an oppoſition that was ſometimes pretty obſtinate. At laſt theſe ſmall detached nations, which by their natural diſpoſition or their ſtate of war had rarely any fixed abode, took the reſolution either of removing themſelves far back into the inland countries or ſubmitting.

A CONSIDERABLE number of ſmall towns were then built, the moſt famous of which were Cumana, Caraccas, Verina, Coro, Maracaybo, and Saint Martha. The territory of ſome of theſe exhibited mines of gold, which at firſt were worked. Their produce in the beginning was pretty conſiderable, but this ſucceſs was only tranſitory; whether this aroſe from there being little gold in them, or, as is moſt probable, becauſe moſt of them were only branches that had been already diſcovered. It ſoon became neceſſary to abandon them. In the ſettlements that were deſtitute of mines, the Spaniards, thirſting after gold and blood, went into the internal parts of the country to maſſacre the Indians, or wreſt from them what they had treaſured of that valuable ſand in their rivers, in order to compoſe various ornaments from it. The laſt

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resource of these madmen was to make slaves, in order to export them into the islands, that their barbarity had depopulated.

La Casas was incensed at this horrible conduct. In 1519, he proposed a colony for this coast, on which no one should be able to settle but with his consent. His colonists were to be clothed in such a manner as to make it believed that they did not belong to the nation which had rendered itself so odious. Their apparel was to be white, with a cross of the same colour, and nearly the figure of that of Calatrava. He assured them, that with those kind of knights, and with missionaries instructed by him, he would prove successful without war, violence, and slavery, in civilizing the savages, establishing good methods of cultivation, and even working the mines they should discover. His ambition was confined to obtaining for his expence the twelfth of what the government should draw from the countries whose felicity he thus anxiously studied.

This plan was too favourable to humanity not to be rejected. The ambitious who govern states and nations, consume them as a commodity, and treat as chimerical every thing that tends to render men better and happier. Charles V. mortgaged the province of Venezuela, situated in the midst of the coast we are now speaking of, to the family of the Welsers. These rich merchants of Ausburg in 1528, sent thither four hundred and four score Germans, whose avarice and ferocity surpassed every thing that had before appeared in the new world. History accuses them of having massacred or caused to be destroyed a million of Indians. Their tyranny ended by an horrible catastrophe, and they did not think of replacing them. They were obliged to look upon it as an happiness, that the country which they had laid waste should return under the Spanish dominion.

Unfortunately, the scenes of horror which the Germans had exhibited, were renewed by Carjaval, who

was

was appointed to the government of this unhappy country. This monster, it is true, loſt his head on a ſcaffold; but the puniſhment did not recall from the grave the victims he had ſent thither. The depopulation was ſo complete, that in 1550 a great number of negroes were imported from Africa, on whom the hopes of an unbounded proſperity were founded. The habit of tyranny made them treat theſe ſlaves with ſuch ſeverity that they revolted. Their rebellions furniſhed a pretext for maſſacring all the males; and this colony once more became a deſert in which the aſhes of negroes, Spaniards, Indians, and Germans were mixed. Venezuela fell again into that total oblivion which alſo involved the provinces that are in the vicinity of the Oroonoko and the Magdalena, though the extent, excellence, and variety of their ſoil might have invited the metropolis to derive ſeveral productions from them, and for the moſt part very rich ones. Only the center of this prodigious coaſt is employed in cultivating cocoa.

The cocoa tree is of a middling ſize, and is propagated from ſeeds, which are ſown at particular diſtances. When it begins to ſhoot, it divides into three, four, five or ſix trunks, according to the vigour of the root. In proportion as it grows, its branches, which are always very far from one another, bend towards the earth. Its leaves, which are long and ſmooth, have an agreeable ſmell, terminate in a point, and would reſemble, if they were glolly, thoſe of the orange tree. From the ſtock, as well as from the branches, riſes a ſonquil flower, the piſtil of which contains the huſk which incloſes the fruit. This huſk which is of the figure of a melon, that is pointed and divided into ſides that are ſtrongly marked, grows to the length of about ſix or ſeven inches, and the breadth of four or five, and incloſes between twenty or thirty ſmall almonds. It is green during its growth, then it turns yellow, which

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is a proof that its fruit begins to have ſome conſiſtence. As ſoon as it acquires the colour of deep muſk, it muſt be gathered, and dried immediately. Every ſeed of the cocoa is found incloſed in the diviſions of the membranes of the huſk. Two crops are made annually, which are equal in quality and quantity.

THE cocoa tree, which begins to reward the labour of the cultivator at the end of two or three years, requires a moiſt ground. If it wants water, it produces no fruit, withers and dies. A ſhade to ſhelter it continually from the heat of the ſun, is not leſs neceſſary to it. It ought to be ſurrounded with ſtrong trees, that under the ſhelter of them it may flouriſh. The culture it further requires is neither laborious, nor expenſive. It is ſufficient to extirpate the graſs around it, which would deprive it of its nouriſhment.

THOUGH the cocoa tree is ſucceſsfully cultivated in ſeveral countries of America, and even grows naturally in others, it ſucceeds in no part of it ſo well as on the coaſt we are deſcribing. All the parts of America gather a little, but it only becomes an important object on the territory of Caraccas. They reckon that the crop of this valuable fruit is more than an hundred thouſand ſanegues of an hundred and ten pounds each. The country of Santa Fè conſumes twenty thouſand; Mexico a little more; the Canaries a ſmall cargo, and Europe from between fifty to ſixty thouſand. The cultivation of this employs ten or twelve thouſand negroes. Such of them who in proceſs of time have obtained their liberty, have built the little town of Nirva, where they will not admit any white people.

THE commerce of Caraccas, to which the bay of Guaira, at two leagues from it, ſerves for a harbour, was a long time open to all the ſubjects of the Spaniſh monarchy, and is ſo ſtill to the Americans. The Europeans are not ſo well treated. In 1728, there was

formed by Saint Sebaſtian a company, which obtained an exclusive right of maintaining connections with this part of the new world. Four or five ſhips, which they diſpatch every year, ſail from the place of their origin, but their return is at Cadiz. The fanega of cocoa, which ſeldom in the colony coſts more than 35 livres [t], which are paid in merchandiſe, is delivered in Spain at the fixed price of 199 livres [u]. There is no rate agreed on for the little cotton, indigo, and leather, which come from this part of the new world.

WHEN we conſider that this is all the produce of a coaſt which is nine hundred leagues long, and twenty, thirty, and forty deep, in a ſoil very often highly ſuſceptible of cultivation; it is very difficult not to be ſeized with aſtoniſhment mingled with indignation. Let Spain take effectual meaſures to make labour honourable; and the many plunderers, who wretchedly ſubſiſt on ſmuggling at Saint Martha, on the river de la Hacha, and in other places, will turn cultivators. To this ſpirit of deſtruction, which has hitherto been the baſis of her policy, let her ſubſtitute the principles of moderation and humanity, and one ſhall then behold the Motilones, the Guajaros, and all the ſavages that ſurround her back ſettlements, or who intercept their communication, haſten to form connections, which will become neceſſarily and reciprocally uſeful. Then the provinces, that are ſituated between Magdalena and Oroonoko will riſe to that ſplendor, to which nature herſelf invites them. They will excel in rich and various productions a great number of colonies, whoſe fertility has been celebrated for ſo long a time. Theſe great objects are ſo evident, that it would be uſeleſs to enlarge on them. We ſhall now proceed to ſpeak of Chili.

[t] 11. 10s. 7d ½. [u] About 8l. 14s.

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Conquest of Chili and Paraguay by the Spaniards. Principles on which Spain manages her colonies.

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THE country known by the name of Chili, is bounded on the east by immense deserts, that reach as far as Paraguay. To the west, it extends along the South Sea, from the frontiers of Peru to the streights of Magellan. The Incas had prevailed upon great part of this spacious region to submit to their wise laws, and intended to subdue the whole, but they met with insuperable difficulties.

Means by which the Spaniards made themselves masters of Chili.

THIS important project was resumed by the Spaniards, as soon as they had conquered the principal provinces of Peru. In the beginning of 1535, Almagro set out from Cusco, and passed the Cordeleras; and though he had lost a great part of the soldiers who attended him in his expedition, he was received with the most perfect submission by the nations that had been formerly under the dominion of the throne that had just been subverted. The terror of his arms would, probably, have procured him greater advantages, had not some private concerns brought him back to the center of the empire, where he ended his days in an unfortunate manner.

THE Spaniards appeared again in Chili in 1541. Baldivia, their leader, entered it without the least opposition. The inhabitants were gathering in their crops; but as soon as harvest was over, they took up arms, and

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and never laid them down for ten years. Some diſtricts indeed, diſcouraged by the continual loſſes they ſuſtained, at length ſubmitted, but the reſt reſolutely fought for their liberty, though they were almoſt always defeated.

AN Indian captain, whoſe age and infirmities would not permit him to ſtir out of his hut, was continually told of theſe misfortunes. The grief of ſeeing his people conſtantly beaten by a handful of ſtrangers, inſpired him with courage. He formed thirteen companies of a thouſand men each, which he led againſt the enemy. They marched one after another, and he ordered that if the firſt company was routed, it ſhould not fall back upon the next, but rally and be ſupported by it. This order, which was punctually obeyed, diſconcerted the Spaniards. They forced all the companies one after another, without gaining any advantage. As both men and horſes wanted reſt, Baldivia retreated towards a defile, where he ſaw they could eaſily defend themſelves; but the Indians did not give him time to get thither. Their rear marched through bye-ways, and took poſſeſſion of the defile, whilſt the vanguard followed him ſo cautiouſly, that he was ſurrounded and maſſacred, together with his hundred and fifty men. It is ſaid that the ſavages poured melted gold down his throat, ſaying, *glut thyſelf with that metal thou art ſo fond of.*

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Means by which the Spaniards made themſelves maſters of Chili.

THEY availed themſelves of this victory, to burn and deſtroy many of the European ſettlements, and they would all have ſhared the ſame fate, but for the timely aſſiſtance of ſome troops ſent from Peru, which enabled them to defend their beſt fortified poſts. They extended themſelves a little after this, but never got an inch of ground without fighting for it. Of all the countries in America which the Spaniards have attempted to ſubdue, this is that where they have always found, and ſtill find the greateſt reſiſtance.

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THEIR moſt irreconcileable enemies are the inhabitants of Arauco and Tucapel, thoſe to the ſouth of the river Bobio, or who extend towards the Cordeleras. Their manners, which reſemble more thoſe of the ſavages of North America, than of the Peruvians their neighbours, render them conſequently more formidable. When they go to war, they carry nothing with them, and want neither tents, nor baggage. The ſame trees from which they gather their food, ſupply them with lances and darts. As they are ſure of finding in one place what they had in another, they willingly reſign any country which they are unable to defend. All places are alike to them. Their troops being free from all incumbrance of proviſions and ammunition, move from one place to another with ſurpriſing agility. They expoſe their lives like men who ſet no value upon them; and if they loſe their field of battle, they find magazines and encampments wherever there is ground covered with fruits. They ſometimes invite their neighbours to join them to attack the common enemy, and this they call running the arrow, becauſe this call flies as ſwiftly and ſilently as an arrow from one habitation to another. A mere trifle will kindle a war. A drunken fellow wantonly calls to arms, all take fire, chuſe a chief, and proceed to action. They fix upon a time for commencing hoſtilities, and in the dead of night, fall upon the next village where there are Spaniards, and from thence proceed to others. They murder all the inhabitants, except the white women, whom they never fail to carry off. This is the true origin of the many white and fair Indians.

BEFORE the enemy has time to collect his forces, they all join. Their army, though more formidable from their numbers than from their diſcipline, boldly ruſhes upon the beſt fortified poſts. This fury often ſucceeds, becauſe they are ſo conſtantly reinforced, that they

they are not ſenſible of their loſſes. If theſe are very conſiderable, they retire to the diſtance of a few leagues, and five or ſix days after, they fall upon ſome other place. Thoſe barbarians never think they are beaten, unleſs they are ſurrounded. If they can but get to a place of difficult acceſs, they think they are conquerors. The head of one Spaniard, which they carry off in triumph, comforts them for the death of a hundred Indians. Such a people muſt conquer.

THE country is of ſuch vaſt extent, that when they are preſſed too cloſe, they forſake their poſſeſſions, and remove into ſome impenetrable foreſt. Recruited by other Indians, they ſoon return into the parts they had before inhabited; and it is this mixture of flight and reſiſtance, of boldneſs and fear, that makes them unconquerable.

WAR is to them a kind of amuſement. As it puts them to no expence or trouble, they care not how long it laſts; and they make it a rule never to ſue for peace. The pride of Spain muſt always ſtoop to make the firſt overtures. When theſe are favourably received, a conference is held. The governor of Chili and the Indian general, attended by the moſt diſtinguiſhed captains on both ſides, ſettle the terms of accommodation, at a convivial meeting. The pacification always coſts the Spaniards ſome preſents, and after a thouſand fruitleſs attempts, they have been forced to give up all thoughts of extending their conqueſts, and reduced to cover their frontiers by erecting forts at proper diſtances. Theſe precautions are taken to prevent the Indians who have ſubmitted, from joining the independent ſavages, and likewiſe to repel the inroads of the latter into the colonies.

Preſent ſtate of the Spaniards at Chili.

THESE colonies are diſperſed on the borders of the South Sea; they are parted from Peru by a deſert that meaſures eighty leagues, and bounded by the iſland of Chiloe

BOOK VIII. Chiloe on the end next the ſtreights of Magellan. On that great length of coaſt, there are no ſettlements but Baldivia, Conception iſland, Valpariſſa and Coquimbo or La Serena, which are all ſea-ports. In the inland country is St. Jago, the capital of the colony. There is no culture nor habitation at any diſtance from theſe towns. The buildings are all very low, made of unburnt brick, and moſtly thatched. This is done on account of the frequent earthquakes, and ſuits very well the indolence of the inhabitants.

They are ſtout and proper men, but few in number. In all that large ſettlement, there are not 20,000 white men, and not more than 60,000 negroes or Indians, able to bear arms. The military amounted formerly to 2000 men; but the maintaining of them was found too expenſive, and they were reduced to 500 towards the beginning of the century. This reduction has made no alteration in the tranquillity of the colony, becauſe theſe Indians pay no poll tax, and are treated with more humanity than in the other conquered provinces. They ſo bravely defended their liberty, that they obtained better terms when they came to ſurrender; and the capitulation has never been broken, for fear they ſhould join with the independent nations in the neighbourhood.

If Chili is a wilderneſs, it is not owing to the climate, which is one of the wholſomeſt in the world. The vicinity of the Cordeleras gives it ſuch a delightful temperature, as could not otherwiſe be expected in that latitude. There is not a more pleaſant province in all the mother country.

The richneſs of its gold mines has been too much extolled. Their united produce never exceeds five millions* a year. The gold was formerly brought over in bullion; but ever ſince the year 1749, it is coined in the mint ſet up at St. Jago. The excellent copper

* 218,750l.

mines

mines of Coquimbo supply the whole kingdom of Peru.

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A TRUER kind of wealth, though less pleasing to the possessors, is the prodigious fertility of the soil. All the European fruits have improved in that happy climate. The wine would be exquisite, if nature was seconded by art. The corn harvest is reckoned a bad one, when it does not yield a hundred fold.

WITH all these advantages, Chili has no direct intercourse with the mother country. Their whole trade is with Peru, Paraguay, and the savages on their own frontiers.

Connections of Chili with the Indians, with Peru, and with Paraguay.

THEY barter their worst and cheapest goods with these barbarians for oxen, horses, and their own children, whom they are ready to part with for the most trifling things.

THOUGH they are passionately fond of these baubles with which they see them, they never think of them when they are out of sight; nor will they stir out of their woods and deserts to procure them; for the Spaniard must bring them out to tempt them. A Spaniard who intends to undertake this trade, first applies to the heads of families, in whom alone resides all public authority. When he has obtained leave to sell, he goes from house to house, and leaves his goods with all who ask for them without distinction. When he has disposed of all, he gives notice that he is going away, and every one of the buyers brings him the effects agreed upon, to the village where he first made his appearance. They have never been known to be guilty of the least imposition. They give him a guard, who help him to drive the cattle, and bring home the slaves he has received in payment, and see him safe to his own frontier.

IN the year 1724, they sold wine and spirituous liquors to these people, who, like most other savages, are excessively fond of them. In their drunken fits,

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they would take up arms, and murder all the Spaniards they met with; would ſuddenly attack the forts, and ravage the country near their dwellings. Theſe miſchiefs were ſo often repeated, that at laſt this dangerous trade was ſtrictly prohibited. The good effects of the prohibition are daily felt. The commotions of theſe people are leſs frequent and leſs dangerous, and their peaceable behaviour has brought on a viſible increaſe of intercourſe with them; but it is not likely it ſhould ever be ſo great as that with Peru.

Chili ſupplies Peru with great plenty of hides, dried fruit, copper, ſalt meat, horſes, hemp, lard, wheat and gold. In exchange for theſe articles, Peru ſends tobacco, ſugar, cocoa, earthen ware, woollen cloth, linen, hats made at Quito, and all articles of luxury from Europe. The ſhips ſent from Callao on this traffic formerly came to Conception Bay, but now to Valparaiſo. The voyage was at firſt ſo tedious, that a whole year was allowed for the returns to come in. They never ventured to loſe ſight of land, and followed all the windings of the coaſt. An European pilot, who had obſerved the winds, performed that navigation in one month. They conſidered him as a magician, and he was taken up by order of the inquiſition, whoſe ignorance is ridiculous, when its rage is not an object of deteſtation. His journal was his vindication; and it plainly appeared that to do the like, nothing more was requiſite than to keep clear of the coaſts. His method was therefore univerſally adopted.

The colony of Chili proceeds upon a very different plan in their dealings with that of Paraguay. Their intercourſe is not carried on by ſea. They would be under a neceſſity either of paſſing the ſtreights of Magellan or doubling Cape Horn, neither of which the Spaniards ever do without an abſolute neceſſity. They find it ſafer, and even cheaper, to go by land, though it is three hundred

hundred leagues from St. Jago to Buenos Ayres, and that they muſt travel forty leagues through the ſnows and precipices of the Cordeleras.

CHILI ſends to Paraguay a ſort of woollen ſtuffs called *ponchos*, which are uſed for cloaks. They ſend wines, brandy, oil, and chiefly gold; and bring home wax, a kind of tallow fit to make ſoap, the herb of Paraguay, European goods, and as many negroes as they can get at Buenos Ayres. Thoſe negroes that come from Panama are partly deſtroyed by a long navigation and frequent change of climate, are purchaſed at a higher price, and are not ſo robuſt.

CHILI is a ſtate quite diſtinct from Peru, and is governed by a chief who is abſolute in all political, civil, and military affairs, and independent on the viceroy, who has no authority but that of appointing a governor proviſionally on the death of the former, till the mother country ſhall name a ſucceſſor. If on ſome occaſions he has interfered in the adminiſtration of Chili, he was authorized to act by a particular truſt repoſed in him by the court, by the deference paid to the eminence of his office, and by that ambition which naturally prompts men in power to extend their authority. Paraguay enjoys the ſame independence.

Settlement of the Spaniards in Paraguay.

PARAGUAY is bounded on the north by the river of the Amazons, to the ſouth by the country bordering on the ſtreights of Magellan, on the eaſt by the Brazils, and on the weſt by Chili and Peru. It derives its name from a large river that comes down from the lake Xarayes, and runs nearly from north to ſouth, and after many windings through an immenſe ſpace, falls into the ſea about the 35th degree of ſouth latitude.

THIS region, which is about 500 leagues long and 300 broad, exhibits great varieties. It contains vaſt foreſts, long ridges of mountains, low lands that are under water great part of the year, and moraſſes that conſtantly

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corrupt the air by their ſtagnating waters. The roving nations who inhabit theſe deſerts are all more or leſs of an olive complexion, above the middle ſize, and flat faced. The men and children commonly go naked, eſpecially in the hot countries, and the women wear hardly any covering. All travellers agree in giving a very bad account of theſe people. They all repreſent them as very ſtupid, fickle, perfidious, and voracious, much addicted to drunkenneſs, incapable of foreſight, and exceſſively indolent and cowardly. If on ſome occaſions they have ſhewn a kind of fury, they were driven to it by the deſire of plunder or revenge.

THEY live upon hunting, fiſhing, wild fruits, honey which is found in plenty in the foreſts, and roots that grow ſpontaneous. Some few eat maize and caſſada. The Indians often ſhift their dwellings, in hopes of finding greater plenty of food. As they have nothing to remove but a few earthen veſſels, theſe emigrations are extremely eaſy; and they can find boughs to build their huts in every place. Though every one thinks himſelf free, and though they live in a ſtate of abſolute independence, yet the neceſſity of mutual defence has obliged them to form themſelves into a kind of ſociety. Some families join together, under the direction of a leader of their own chuſing. Theſe aſſociations, which are more or leſs numerous, in proportion to the reputation and abilities of their chief, are as eaſily diſſolved as formed.

THE diſcovery of the river Paraguay, ſince called Rio de la Plata, was made in 1516, by Diaz de Solis, a noted pilot of Caſtile. He and moſt of his men were put to death by the natives, who, ſome years after, treated the Portugueſe of Brazil in the ſame manner, on their threatening to enſlave them.

THE two rival nations, equally afraid of theſe ſavages, loſt ſight of Paraguay, and turned their avaricious views another

another way. The Spaniards accidentally returned there in 1526. BOOK VIII.

SEBASTIAN CABOT, who in 1496 had discovered Newfoundland for England, finding that kingdom was too much taken up with domestic affairs to think of making settlements in a new world, offered his services to Spain, where his reputation procured him the appointment to a brilliant expedition.

THE *Victory*, famous for being the first ship that ever went round the world, the only one of Magellan's squadron that returned to Europe, had brought a great quantity of spices from the Moluccas. The great profit that was made upon this sale, occasioned a second expedition, and the command was given to Cabot. In pursuing the track of the former voyage, he arrived at the mouth of the Plata. Whether he was in want of provisions for going on, or whether, which is more probable, his men began to be mutinous, he stopped there. He sailed up the river, and built a fortress at the entrance of the river Riotercero, which comes down from the mountains of Tucuman. Every subsequent event is recorded in the Spanish histories with some marvellous story. To evince the falsehood of them, we shall only relate them in their own style and manner.

NUNO de Lara was appointed to take care of the first bulwark, erected on the happy banks of the Paraguay, to put into the hands of the Spaniards all the riches of a world destined by heaven, for the people of all Christendom the most faithful to God. If the governor had been furnished only with as many soldiers as there were nations to fight or to drive away, he would have trusted the conquest of Paraguay to Spanish valour that had been signalized by so many victories. But they had given him but a hundred and twenty men to oppose such innumerable people. He, therefore, thought it advisable to secure his situation by an alliance with the Timbuez, a nation bordering on his government.

Mangora, their cacique, was charmed with the character of Nuno, and accepted propoſals which were to honour and diſtinguiſh him from that multitude of ſavages who were deſtined to be one day the ſlaves of that nation, who was the miſtreſs of the new world. The Spaniard received him with kindneſs. But let us admire the power of love, who not content with triumphing over gods and heroes, delights in ſubduing the fierceneſs of barbarous nations. His quiver has ſurer and more deadly arrows than the poiſoned darts of the Indian.

THE cacique was inflamed with love at the ſight of a lady, whoſe name was Lucia Miranda, the wife of the invincible captain Sebaſtian Hurtado. From that moment he grew quite furious, and felt that it would be in vain for America to pretend to reſiſt a nation, each of whoſe ſoldiers deſtroyed whole armies, and each of whoſe women could lay all their chiefs at her feet. He ventured to confeſs his deſeat to her who did not condeſcend to perceive it. But, to decoy a prey which he had no hopes of carrying off by force, he laid a ſnare to the ambition of Hurtado. He invited him to come with Miranda and receive the homage of his whole nation, giving him to underſtand that a beauty born to triumph in both worlds, would for ever bind ſuch of the Timbuez to the alliance with Spain, as might queſtion the ſuperiority of ſo renowned a people, when they ſhould ſee in what fountain of heroiſm the Europeans drew that courage which ſo eaſily made them maſters of the earth: for the fame of the Spaniſh conqueſts had flown from one tropic to the other, on the wings of terror more powerful, and more rapid, than thoſe of victory.

HURTADO, who had been informed by his chaſte wife, of the cacique's fatal paſſion, thought he ought in compaſſion, to elude an attachment which he muſt otherwiſe

otherwiſe have waſhed away with the blood of that unfortunate man. He anſwered him, that no European ſoldier would dare to quit his camp or his garriſon, without leave of the general or governor, nor could aſk ſuch a favour without diſgrace, unleſs it were to fight and conquer. The cacique, enlightened by love, who blinds only happy lovers, ſaw plainly that the Spaniard was ſporting with his paſſion; and as he found he could never be happy but by the death of his rival, he reſolved to get rid of him. It was to be done by treachery. Hurtado could fear none but cowards.

THE cacique was informed that Hurtado was gone out of the garriſon with fifty of his invincible ſoldiers, to fetch proviſions at the riſque of their lives. The garriſon was exceedingly weakened by the abſence of that captain. Mangora quickly collected a body of four thouſand Indians, and concealed them, well armed, in a covered moraſs near the citadel. Then marching to the gates, with thirty of his men loaded with proviſions, he ſends word to Lara, that having been informed that the Spaniards, his friends, were in want of proviſions, he had haſtened to offer them ſome, till the convoy ſhould come back with a freſh ſupply. The generoſity of the general could never ſuſpect any ſnares of perfidy in the preſents and voluntary offers of an ally. Lara received the cacique with the ſincereſt teſtimonies of gratitude, and treated him and his company with what foreign European proviſions he was able to add to the natural fare of the country. They made a feaſt with this variety of proviſions, and from the intoxication of debauchery they were ſurprized by ſleep, and were all deſtroyed.

THE cacique had before apprized his eſcort and his ambuſcaded troop with his intent. All was foreſeen and concerted to execute the baſeſt of treacheries. The Spaniards were ſcarce fallen aſleep, when the light of the

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flames that were devouring the magazine gave notice to the Indians to march up to the sacking of the place. The soldiers who were to guard it, half awakened by the noise and light of the conflagration, ran, still drunk, to extinguish it. During this confusion, the authors of the plot open the gates to their companions, and all together, with their daggers in their hands, fell upon the Spaniards, who could neither escape the fire nor the sword. Lara, mortally wounded, thought less of pulling the arrow out of his own side than of plunging his sword into the heart of Mangora. The cacique and he fell together, tearing one another to pieces; and they both expired, thus mingling the blood of a Spaniard with that of a savage; a circumstance that could have happened but in their mutual destruction.

All that was left in the place was four women and four children with Miranda, the innocent and ill fated cause of so tragical a scene. Those sad victims were carried to Siripa, the brother and successor of the perfidious cacique. The love of the latter passed into his brother's heart, like a fire rekindled from his ashes. Like the sun himself who shines on the rich banks of the Paraguay, Miranda could not shew herself, without inflaming all who beheld her. But she conveyed into the souls, sometimes the rage of despair, and sometimes the soft weakness of submission and entreaty. Siripa threw himself at her feet, and declared that she was not only free, but that she should reign over the chief and the people, which her charms would have subdued to Spain more effectually than the arms of a victorious nation. How could she still, added he, not forget an unfortunate husband, fallen no doubt under the arrows of the Indian conspirators.

Miranda, still more offended at the love of the new cacique, than she had been insensible to that of his brother, answered him with marks of contempt and insult, preferring death rather than a crown from the hand of a

savage.

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savage. Had she crossed the seas with her husband, to forsake and betray him in a world where the European women ought to set the example of virtue, as the men did that of bravery? But Siripa, having no idea of a fidelity which appeared to him as extraordinary as the heroism of the Spaniards, thought that time would wear off those sentiments in a sex not made for a long resistance; or that at least so much pride could not be conquered but by gentleness. In vain did Miranda obstinately repulse the attentions of the cacique; he opposed nothing but kindness and respect to the constancy of her denials.

In the mean time Hurtado, returning from his expedition, found nothing but a heap of bloody ashes on the spot where he had left a citadel. His eyes sought Miranda every where, without discovering so much as the shadow or the footsteps of that faithful wife. At last he heard that she was amongst the perfidious Indians, who in one night had perpetrated so many crimes. No danger could deter him from going to rescue Miranda from her ravishers. His presence kindled all the fury of jealousy in the soul of the cacique. He immediately ordered the death of that Spaniard, whose presence was odious to him on so many accounts. Miranda disarmed the heart of this barbarian, and obtained a repeal of the sentence pronounced against her husband. She even obtained leave to see him sometimes; but on condition that if they dared to listen to love, and give way to its transports, the first moment of their felicity should be the last of their lives. A prohibition infinitely more cruel than that which the king of the infernal regions imposed upon the hapless Orpheus! How can a man possess a lovely wife, and not see her? How can he see her long, and not once enjoy her embraces? What could Siripa expect from the torment to which he had condemned that couple? Love is strengthened by voluntary self-

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self-denial, but cannot bear compulsion. Prohibition quickens desire, danger increases its boldness, and even death invites to taste of life. After passing many days in comforting one another in their slavery, and bathing in those tears which are attracted, dried up, and incessantly renewed in the tender endearments of virtuous and persecuted love, they both dared to wish for one of those delightful moments which redeem whole years of sufferings. After seeing one another a hundred times, always promising and always refusing, in hopes of meeting again to keep the oaths of hymen; at last love, stronger than chains, tyrants and death, demanded that sweet tribute which virtue offers as a homage to heaven in the arms of conjugal fidelity. They at last enjoyed that pleasure which the angels bless around the nuptial bed, covering their faces with their wings, lest they should envy men a happiness that is unknown in paradise. One day the barbarous Siripa found Hurtado in the arms of Miranda. He instantly condemned them, and they were both dragged from the nuptial bed to the stake, where they ended their lives by a lingering death, within sight of each other, amidst the sighs of everlasting love.

Whilst this scene was acting, Moschera, now become the chief of the few remaining Spaniards, embarked with his little company on board a vessel that lay at anchor. By this retreat, Paraguay was totally delivered from the nation that had threatened its liberty. This tranquillity was of short duration. Some more considerable forces appeared on the river in 1535, and laid the foundation of Buenos Ayres. The new colony soon wanted provisions. All who ventured out to fetch them were murdered by the savages; and they were forced to forbid, upon pain of death, any one going beyond the limits of the new settlement.

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A WOMAN whom hunger had undoubtedly hardened against the fear of death, eluded the vigilance of the guards who were posted round the colony, to preserve it from the dangers it was exposed to in consequence of the famine. Maldonata, this was the name of the fugitive, having wandered about for some time in unknown and unfrequented roads, entered a cave to take some rest. There, to her great terror, she found a lioness, and to her great astonishment, she beheld the formidable beast making up to her, half trembling, and then stroking her and licking her hands with piteous cries, fitter to inspire compassion than fear. The Spanish woman soon found that the lioness was with whelp, and that her groans were the accents of a mother who calls for help to get rid of her burden. Maldonata took courage, and assisted nature in that painful moment, when she seems reluctantly to give light to all beings, and that life they are to enjoy for so short a space. The lioness being safely delivered, she soon went out to fetch a plentiful provision, and laid it at the feet of her benefactress. She daily shared it with the little whelps, who, born by her assistance, and bred up with her, seemed by their wanton frolics and innocent bites to acknowledge an obligation, which their dam repaid with the tenderest assiduities. But when they grew bigger, and nature gave them instinct to seek their own prey, and strength to seize and devour it, the family dispersed in the woods; and the lioness, who was no longer called to the cave by maternal tenderness, disappeared likewise to roam about the forest, which her hunger daily depopulated.

MALDONATA, alone and without sustenance, was forced to quit a cavern which was the terror of so many living creatures, but which her pity had made a place of safety for her. That woman now felt with sorrow the want of a society, that had been so useful to her: she did

not

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not wander long, before she fell into the hands of the savages. A lioness had fed her, and men made her a slave. Soon after, she was retaken by the Spaniards, who brought her back to Buenos Ayres. The commandant, more savage than the lions or the wild Indians, did not think her sufficiently punished for her flight by all the dangers and miseries she had endured: the barbarian commanded that she should be tied to a tree in the middle of a wood, and there left to starve, or be devoured by monsters.

Two days after, some soldiers went to see what was become of the unhappy victim. They found her alive, surrounded with hungry tygers, who gaping after their prey, durst not come near her, for fear of a lioness who lay at her feet with her whelps. That sight struck the soldiers motionless with pity and terror. When the lioness saw them, she withdrew from the tree, as if to make room for them to unbind her benefactress: but when they took her away, the animal followed gently, to confirm, by her caresses and soft murmurs, the wonders of gratitude which the woman was relating to her deliverers. The lioness with her whelps for some time followed her footsteps, shewing all the signs of unfeigned sorrow that a disconsolate family express when they attend a beloved father or son, who is going to embark for America, from whence he may never return home.

The commandant, informed of the whole adventure by his soldiers, and restored by a monster of the woods to those feelings of humanity which his savage heart had doubtless put off in crossing the seas, suffered a woman to live, who had been so visibly protected by heaven.

Mean while the Indians, who still hovered round the Spanish colony, with an intent to starve it, hemmed it in more and more within the palisadoes. Returning to Europe seemed to be the only remedy for such great evils; but the Spaniards were prepossessed with the notion

tion that that the inland country was full of mines, and this belief kept up their conſtancy. They abandoned Buenos Ayres, and went and founded the iſland of Aſſumption, three hundred leagues up the country, but ſtill on the banks of the river. This was viſibly removing further from the aſſiſtance of the mother country, but in their opinion, it was getting nearer the fountain of riches; and their greedineſs was greater ſtill than their foreſight.

THE wild inhabitants of a country that lay nearer the tropic, were leſs courageous than thoſe of Buenos Ayres, and more eaſily civilized. Far from moleſting the Spaniards, they ſupplied them with proviſions. This behaviour gave room to hope that it might be poſſible to ſecure their friendſhip, if they could be brought over to chriſtianity; and they thought the the moſt effectual method to do this, was, to give them a high opinion of that religion. To this purpoſe they contrived a proceſſion for the holidays, in which, after the cuſtom of the mother country, all the coloniſts were to appear with their ſhoulders bare, and the inſtruments of flagellation in their hands. The Indians were invited to this horrid farce, not unlike the fanaticiſm of the Corybantes, and fitter to inſpire an abhorrence for chriſtianity than to recommend it. They flocked to this barbarous ceremony, to the number of eight thouſand men armed with their bows and arrows, which they never left behind, fully determined to drown theſe ſtrangers in their own blood, ſince a religion that taught them to ſhed it, muſt certainly make them ſavage and cruel.

THE moment that the cataſtrophe was drawing near, Irala was informed by an Indian ſervant of ſo unexpected a plot. That Spaniſh general gave out that the Topiges, enemies to the whole country, were advancing to attack the place. He commanded all his troops to take up arms, and called the Indian chiefs

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together, to deliberate on the common danger that threatened their nation and his own. As soon as these men were in the power of the Spaniards, Itala put them to death, and threatened the Indians who had attended them with the same fate. The unhappy wretches fell on their knes, and only obtained their pardon on swearing eternal and unlimited obedience, for themselves and their whole nation. The reconciliation was sealed by the marriage of some Indian women with Spaniards, a ceremony far more pleasing to heaven and earth, than that scourging procession that was to have ended in a massacre. From the union of two such different nations, sprang the race of the Mestees, now so common in South America. Thus it is the fate of the Spaniards, in all parts of the world, to be a mixed race. That of the moors still flows in their veins in Europe, and that of the savages in America. Perhaps, they are no losers by this mixture, if it is true that men, as well as animals, are the better for crossing the breed. And would to God they were all confounded in one race, and that there were no such thing as national antipathy, which only serves to perpetuate wars and all the destructive passions.

Preservation of the Spaniards in Peru.

But discord will arise between brothers, how can we therefore expect that all mankind should become one family, when the children of this family still thirst for each other's blood, and whilst this cruel thirst is excited and kept up by that of gold?

It was this shameful passion, this cruel greediness, which induced the Spaniards to keep still further from the sea, and nearer the mountains; nor did they grow wiser or more humane, by the danger they had exposed themselves to by advancing so far into the country, of being all destroyed by the savages. They seemed, by the cruelties they exercised upon the Indians, to punish them for their own obstinacy in look-

ing for gold were there was none. Several ships, which were bringing them troops and ammunition, were loſt by venturing too far up the river, and all on board periſhed; yet even this could not reclaim them, and it was but in conſequence of repeated orders from the mother country that they reſtored Buenos Ayres. This neceſſary undertaking was now become eaſy. The Spaniards, who had multiplied in Paraguay, were ſtrong enough to reſtrain or deſtroy the nations that might oppoſe them. They accordingly met with no great difficulty. Juan Ortiz de Zarate executed it in 1580, and rebuilt Buenos Ayres upon the old ſpot, which had been forſaken for forty years. The petty nations that lived in the neighbourhood, ſubmitted to the yoke, or fled to diſtant parts to enjoy their freedom.

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As ſoon as the colony was provided with a capital, it began to acquire ſome ſolidity; and in proceſs of time, they formed four great provinces, the Tucuman, Santa Cruz de la Sierra, Paraguay proper, and Rio de la Plata. In all this immenſe ſpace, there are but twelve towns, ſcattered up and down, which in Europe would be reckoned only ſmall market towns. They conſiſt of a few houſes or huts, placed without any regularity, and parted by little woods or groves, ſo that every houſe looks like a ſingle plantation. All round each town are ſome ſmall villages of conquered Indians. The reſt of the country is entirely a wilderneſs, or inhabited by independent ſavages. Their rage againſt thoſe who have forced them to fly to inacceſſible mountains is inconceivable. They are continually coming down, in hopes of murdering ſome of their tyrants. Theſe inroads prevent all communication between the Spaniſh ſettlements.

Preſent ſituation of the Spaniards in Paraguay.

The capital itſelf has ſome defects that are detrimental to induſtry. Buenos Ayres has indeed ſome advantages. The ſituation is healthy and pleaſant, and the air

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air temperate. The country affords a chearful proſpect, and would be fertile, if they would take the pains to cultivate it. The buildings, which were all of earth forty years ago, are more ſolid and more commodious, ſince they have learnt to make brick and lime. The population amounts to 16,000 ſouls, and the white people may be about a quarter of the number. One ſide of the town is defended by a fortreſs, with a garriſon of a thouſand men: and the reſt is ſurrounded by the river. Theſe precautions are extremely proper, but inadequate to the end propoſed.

The town ſtands ſeventy leagues from the ſea. Large ſhips cannot come up to it, and the ſmalleſt veſſels run great riſques in ſailing up a river that wants depth, is full of iſlands, ſhoals and rocks, and where ſtorms are more frequent and more dreadful than on the ocean. They are obliged to anchor every night on the ſpot they come to; and on the calmeſt days, a pilot muſt go before in a boat to take the ſoundings, and trace the way for them. The danger is not over even in the harbour, which is within three leagues of the town. Though the ſhips take care to caſt all their anchors, and to ſecure their cables with ſtrong iron chains, they are in danger of being ſunk by a furious wind, which comes from the frontiers of Chili, and, as it meets with nothing to check its progreſs over a plain of three hundred leagues, grows ſtill more impetuous as it enters the channel of the river.

If the Spaniards had not been too much directed by chance in fixing moſt of their American ſettlements, they would have occupied the port of Inſenada, or that of Baragon, at the entrance of the river Plata, to the weſt, or that of Maldonado, that lies on the ſame ſide to the eaſt. The frequent accidents that have happened on the river, and other political reaſons, have at laſt convinced the court of Madrid of the improper ſituation of

of Buenos Ayres, and in 1726, they built a citadel forty leagues lower, at Monte Video, flanked with four bastions, and defended by a numerous artillery, and a garrison of two hundred men. They afterwards found that this harbour was only fit for small vessels, and therefore removed to Maldonado, where the fortifications were built by the Guaranis without pay, as were likewise those of Buenos Ayres and Monte Video. It is by nature one of the finest harbours in the world. It is large enough to contain the most numerous fleet; and the entrance which is narrow, is very easily defended. The air is excellent, there is plenty of wood, and the soil is very fertile. When once they have subdued the natives, who are a resolute, warlike and robust people, and when the families which are removed thither from time to time, from the Canary Islands, have improved the lands, it will be a complete settlement. The ships that are sailing from Europe to the South seas, will find there a safe harbour, and all the refreshments they may want. In time it will become the natural staple for the trade of Paraguay, and may still be improved, when the Spaniards shall have adopted better principles of government. At present it is not very considerable.

Trade of Paraguay.

The richest produce that is peculiar to that continent, is the herb of Paraguay. It is the leaf of a middle sized tree. The taste is not unlike that of mallows, and the shape is that of an orange tree. It is divided into three classes. The first, called *caacuys*, is the bud when it is just opening to unfold its leaves. It is far superior to the other two, but will not keep so long, and it is therefore difficult to export it to any distance. The next, which is called *caamini*, is the full grown leaf stripped of its stalks. If the stalks are left on, it is called *cangiaoa*, which is the third sort. The leaves are first roasted, and then kept in pits digged in the ground, and covered with bulls hides.

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THE mountains of Maracayu, at the eaſt ſide of Paraguay, furniſh the herb that is moſt eſteemed. The tree does not grow on the tops of the hills, but in the marſhy bottoms that lie between them. This herb firſt grew famous in diſtant parts, being ſent from Aſſumption, which is called the capital of Paraguay, though in fact it is a very inconſiderable place. It had always been the delight of the ſavages; and the firſt exportation returned conſiderable profits, but the town was ſoon obliged to drop this trade, having loſt all the Indians of that territory in ſending the herb ſo far. There remained nothing but a deſert for forty leagues round the place, ſo that the inhabitants loſt the only chance they had of enriching themſelves.

THE new Villa Rica, near Maracayu, engroſſed this branch of trade, but were ſoon obliged to ſhare it with the Guaranis, who at firſt gathered the herb only for their own uſe, but ſoon began to ſell it. This employment, together with a journey of four hundred leagues going and coming, kept them at a diſtance from home great part of the year, ſo that they grew unmindful of religion, and unconnected with the colony. Many of them periſhed by change of air and fatigue. Some grew weary of this laborious employment, and ran away into the woods, where they reſumed their former way of life. Beſides, the villages having no men to defend them, lay expoſed to the inroads of the enemy. To obviate theſe inconveniences, the miſſionaries ſent for ſeeds from Maracayu, and ſowed them in thoſe parts of their grounds that were moſt analagous to the ſoil of the mountains. Theſe trees have multiplied exceedingly, and have not degenerated, at leaſt not viſibly.

THE produce of theſe plantations added to that which grows ſpontaneouſly, is very conſiderable. Some is conſumed in Paraguay, and Chili and Peru take off annually 100,000 arrobes, which, at the rate of 23 livres

12

12 ſous 6 deniers [y], make an article of exportation of 2,362,500 livres [z]. BOOK VIII.

THIS herb, which the Spaniards of South America extol as a preſervative againſt moſt diſeaſes, is uſed all over that part of the new hemiſphere. It is dried and almoſt powdered, and then put into a cup, with ſugar, lemon juice, and ſweet-ſcented paſte; then they pour boiling water upon it, and drink it off directly, before it has time to turn black.

THE herb of Paraguay is not an object of utility to Europe; but that country is valuable on other accounts, and in particular for the hides it ſends over. When the Spaniards forſook Buenos Ayres in 1538, they left ſome horned cattle in the neighbouring fields, which they had brought over from their own country. They multiplied to ſuch a degree in thoſe paſtures, that nobody thought it worth his while to take them home when the town was reſtored. Afterwards they contrived to knock them on the head, merely for the ſake of their hides. The manner in which they do it is curious enough.

A NUMBER of huntſmen on horſeback repair to the places where they know there are moſt wild bulls. Each purſues his own beaſt, and hamſtrings him with a ſharp iron cut in the ſhape of a creſcent, and faſtened to a long handle. When he has brought him to the ground, he purſues others and diſables them in the ſame manner. After ſome days ſpent in this violent exerciſe, they ride back, find the bulls where they had left them, flay them, and carry away the hides, and ſometimes the tongues and the fat, and all the reſt they leave to be devoured by numbers of vultures and other birds of prey.

HIDES were ſo cheap at firſt, that they would hardly fetch one livre ſix ſous a-piece [a], though the buyers refuſed a great many becauſe they were not of the right

[y] Near one guinea.
[z] About 103,360l.
[a] About 1s. 1d. ½.

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ſize; but they are grown dearer ſince there are fewer bulls. This decreaſe is not owing ſo much to the huntſmen as to the wild dogs. Thoſe miſchievous animals make ſuch havock, that the colony is in danger of loſing that lucrative branch of trade. The government of Buenos Ayres has endeavoured to prevent this misfortune by ordering part of the garriſon out to deſtroy thoſe fierce dogs. The ſoldiers, at their return from this neceſſary expedition, were ſo hooted at, that they would not go any more on an errand that caſt a ridicule upon them, and expoſed them to the contempt of their own countrymen.

THE deficiency in the article of hides, will be made up by tobacco, which they have begun to cultivate in Paraguay with good ſucceſs. They already ſend over a conſiderable quantity every year; as likewiſe vicuna wool, which comes from the mountains; and metals; all which productions are foreign to the colony.

THE firſt Spaniards who came to Paraguay, made no doubt but a country that lay ſo near Peru muſt contain great riches. They acted in conſequence of this perſuaſion, which was kept up for a whole century by ſome very trifling incidents. At laſt they were forced to give up this chimerical idea; but after it had long been diſbelieved, it was again revived to ſerve ſome private purpoſe. It is now certainly known that Paraguay has no gold or ſilver but what comes from Chili and Potoſi. Some of it circulates in the colony; a great deal more is ſmuggled into the Portugueſe ſettlements; and every year about five millions are ſhipped off from Buenos Ayres for the mother country.

Paraguay owes its celebrity to the ſettlements the Jeſuits have formed there. Remarks on theſe ſettlements.

THIS account of the natural and moral properties, as well as of the riches of Paraguay, does not convey the idea of a very famous colony. It has been indebted for the attention that has all along been paid to it, to an eſtabliſhment formed in its center, which, after long

debates, has at last met with the approbation of the wisest men. The opinion we are to entertain of it, seems at last to be determined by philosophy, before which ignorance, prejudice, and faction should disappear, as shades vanish before the light.

The Jesuits intrusted with the missions of Peru, being informed how the Incas governed their empire and made their conquests, adopted their plan in the execution of a grand project they had formed. The descendants of Manco Capac, marched to their frontiers with powerful armies, composed of soldiers who at least knew how to obey, to fight, and to intrench themselves; and who, with better offensive weapons than those of the savages, had shields and defensive weapons, which their enemies had not. They proposed to the nation they wanted to add to their empire, to embrace their religion, laws, and manners, to quit their forests and to live in society. They frequently met with opposition. Most of those people held out a great while in defence of their prejudices and their liberty. The Incas then had recourse to patience, and sent fresh deputies, who again endeavoured to persuade them. Sometimes those deputies were murdered; sometimes the savages fell upon the army of the Incas. These fought bravely, and had always the advantage. They constantly ceased fighting as soon as they had obtained the victory. If they took any prisoners, they treated them so kindly, that they were in raptures with the yoke of these humane conquerors, and made such a favourable report at home, that their nation became entirely attached to them. A Peruvian army was seldom the aggressor, and the Inca has often been known to forbear hostilities, even after he had experienced the perfidy of the barbarians, and several of his soldiers had been murdered.

The Jesuits, who had no army, only made use of persuasion. They went into the forests to look for the sa-

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vages, and prevailed upon them to renounce their old cuſtoms and prejudices, to embrace a religion which they could not underſtand, and to enjoy the ſweets of ſociety which they were ſtrangers to.

THE Incas had another advantage over the Jeſuits, which was, the nature of their religion, calculated to ſtrike the ſenſes. It is a more eaſy matter to perſuade men to worſhip the ſun which they ſee, than to adore an inviſible God, and to believe doctrines and myſteries which they cannot comprehend. Accordingly the Jeſuits were ſo wiſe as to civilize the ſavages in ſome meaſure, before they attempted to convert them. They did not pretend to make them chriſtians, till they had made them men. As ſoon as they had got them together, they began to ſupply them with all the good things they had promiſed them, and made them embrace chriſtianity, when, by making them happy, they had made them tractable.

THE diviſion of lands into three ſhares for religious purpoſes, for the public, and for individuals; the working for orphans, old people and ſoldiers; the giving rewards for great actions; the inſpection and cenſure of manners; the effects of benevolence; feſtivals intermingled with labour; military exerciſes, ſubordination, preſervatives againſt idleneſs, reſpect for religion and the laws, the union of political and religious authority in the ſame hands: in a word, whatever was admired in the legiſlation of the Incas, was practiſed in greater perfection at Paraguay.

THE Incas and the Jeſuits have alike eſtabliſhed an order that prevents the commiſſion of crimes, and inflicts the puniſhment. There is hardly ſuch a thing as a delinquent in Paraguay. Their morals are pure, and are kept ſo by gentler means ſtill than in Peru. The laws were ſevere in that empire; they are not ſo amongſt the Guaranis. Puniſhments are not dreaded there, and

men fear nothing but the reproach of their own conſcience. BOOK VIII.

After the example of the Incas, the Jeſuits have eſtabliſhed the theocratical government, with the additional advantage of confeſſion, which is of great ſervice, ſo long as its inſtitutors ſhall not make an ill uſe of it. This alone anſwers the end of penal laws, and keeps up a purity of manners. In Paraguay, religion, more forcible than the ſword, brings the guilty perſon to the feet of the magiſtrate. There, far from palliating his crime, remorſe makes him rather aggravate it; and inſtead of eluding his puniſhment, he begs for it on his knees. The more public and ſevere it is, the more it quiets the conſcience of the criminal. Thus puniſhment, which every where elſe is the dread of malefactors, is their comfort there, as it puts an end to remorſe by expiation. The people of Paraguay have no civil laws, becauſe they know of no property; nor have they any criminal laws, becauſe every one is his own accuſer, and voluntarily ſubmits to his puniſhment: their only laws are the precepts of religion. Theocracy would be the beſt of all governments, if it were poſſible to preſerve it in its purity: but then it muſt be always under the direction of virtuous men, deeply impreſſed with its true principles; religion ſhould inſpire none but the duties of ſociety; ſhould call nothing a crime but what offends againſt the natural rights of mankind; ſhould not, in its precepts, ſubſtitute prayers to labours, vain ceremonies of worſhip to works of charity, or needleſs ſcruples to well-grounded remorſe.

But it can hardly be expected that Spaniſh or Italian Jeſuits, ſhould not have tranſmitted to Paraguay the monaſtic notions and practices of Rome or Madrid. However, if they have introduced ſome abuſes, it muſt be confeſſed it has been with ſuch peculiar advantages,

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that, perhaps, it is impoſſible to do ſo much good to men any where elſe, with ſo little injury.

THERE are more arts and conveniencies in the republics of the Jeſuits than in Cuſco itſelf, without more luxury. The uſe of coin is unknown there. The watchmaker, the weaver, the lockſmith, the taylor, all depoſit their works in public warehouſes. They are ſupplied with all neceſſaries; for the huſbandman has laboured for them. The Jeſuits watch over the wants of all, with magiſtrates choſen by the people.

THERE is no diſtinction of ſtations; and it is the only ſociety on earth where men enjoy that equality which is the ſecond of all bleſſings; for liberty is undoubtedly the firſt.

THE Incas and the Jeſuits have both made religion reſpectable by the dazzling pomp of outward ceremonies. Nothing could be more magnificent than the temples of the ſun; and the churches in Paraguay are equal to the fineſt in Europe. The Jeſuits have made their worſhip pleaſant, without making it an indecent farce. The Indians are allured to church by ſoothing muſic, affecting hymns, paintings that ſpeak to the eyes, and the majeſty of ceremonies; ſo that pleaſure is blended with the exerciſes of piety. It is there that religion is amiable, and that the people firſt love it in its miniſters. Nothing can equal the purity of manners, the mild and tender zeal, and the paternal kindneſs of the Jeſuits of Paraguay. Every paſtor is truly the father, as he is the guide of his pariſhioners. His authority is not felt, becauſe he commands, forbids, and puniſhes nothing, but what is commanded, forbidden and puniſhed by the religion they all adore and love, as he himſelf does.

IT ſhould ſeem that men muſt have multiplied extremely under a government where no one is idle, where no one is fatigued with labour, where food is wholeſome and plentiful, and the ſame for all; where all

all have comfortable abodes and good clothing; where the aged, the ſick, widows and orphans, are aſſiſted in a manner unknown to all the earth beſides; where every one marries from choice and not for intereſt, and where a number of children is a comfort, and can never be a burden; where debauchery, the offspring of idleneſs, that corrupter of opulence and poverty, never haſtens the decays of human life; where nothing ſtirs up factitious paſſions, or contradicts thoſe that are regulated by nature and reaſon; where the people enjoy the advantages of trade, and are not expoſed to the contagion of vice and luxury; where plentiful magazines, and a friendly intercourſe between nations united in the bonds of the ſame religion, are a ſecurity againſt any ſcarcity that might happen from the inconſtancy or inclemency of the ſeaſons; where public juſtice has never been reduced to the cruel neceſſity of condemning a ſingle malefactor to death, to diſgrace, or to any puniſhment of a long duration; where the very names of a tax or a law ſuit, thoſe two terrible ſcourges which every where elſe afflict mankind, are unknown; ſuch a country muſt naturally be expected to be the moſt populous in the world; but this is not the caſe.

THIS dominion, which began in the year 1610, extends from the Parana, which falls into the Paragua under the 27th degree of ſouth latitude, to the Uragua that falls into the ſame river towards the 34th degree. On the banks of thoſe two great rivers, which deſcend from the mountains near Brazil, in the fertile plains that lie between them, the Jeſuits had already, in 1676, ſettled twenty-two villages; how populous they were is not known. In 1702, there were twenty-nine, conſiſting in all of 22,761 families, which made a population of 89,491 ſouls. The habitations and inhabitants have increaſed ſince, and the whole may now amount to 200,000.

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THE religious legiſlators have long been ſuſpected of curtailing the liſt of their ſubjects to defraud Spain of the tribute they had ſubmitted to pay; and the court of Madrid has expreſſed ſome uneaſineſs on that account. An exact inquiry has diſpelled thoſe injurious and ill-grounded ſuſpicions. It was not very likely that a ſociety that was always jealous of their honour, ſhould for a mean and low intereſt, ſacrifice a ſenſe of greatneſs, adequate to the majeſty of the ſtructure they were erecting with ſo much care and pains.

THOSE who were ſufficiently acquainted with the genius of the ſociety not to ſlander it ſo groſly, gave out that the Guaranis did not multiply, becauſe they periſhed by working in the mines. This accuſation, urged above a hundred years ago, has been propagated by the ſame ſpirit of avarice, envy and ill nature, that firſt invented it. The more the Spaniſh miniſtry have ſearched for theſe hidden treaſures, the more they have been convinced that they were all chimerical. If the Jeſuits had found mines, they certainly would never have opened that door to every kind of vice, which would ſoon have waſted their empire and ruined their power.

OTHERS are of opinion that the oppreſſion of monkiſh government muſt have checked the population of the Guaranis. But this is hardly reconcileable with that blind confidence, and that exceſſive attachment the Guaranis are ſaid to have for the miſſionaries who govern them. Oppreſſion conſiſts in impoſing labour and tribute; in arbitrary levies of men and money to compoſe armies and fleets, deſtined for deſtruction; in the forcible execution of laws impoſed without the conſent of the people, and contrary to the remonſtrances of the magiſtrates; in the violation of public, and the eſtabliſhment of private privilege; in the undue exerciſe of a pretended divine authority, enforced by the ſword of juſtice.

juſtice. This is oppreſſion. But it can never exiſt, where every action is the reſult of voluntary ſubmiſſion, and proceeds from inclination founded on conviction, and where nothing is done but from choice, and full approbation. This is that gentle ſway of opinion, the only one, perhaps, that it is lawful for one man to exerciſe over another, becauſe it makes them happy who ſubmit to it. Such is moſt certainly that of the Jeſuits in Paraguay, ſince whole nations are come of their own accord, to incorporate into their government, and not one has ever thrown off the yoke. No one will dare to aſſert that fifty Jeſuits have been able to compel two hundred thouſand Indians to be their ſlaves, who had it in their power either to murder their prieſts, or to run away to the deſerts. This ſtrange paradox would never be believed, even by the moſt credulous.

Some have ſuſpected that the Jeſuits had propagated thoſe high notions of celibacy amongſt their people, which were ſo prevalent in Europe in the dark ages of ignorance, and are not yet entirely eradicated, notwithſtanding the continual expoſtulations of nature, reaſon and ſociety. But this is far from being the caſe. The miſſionaries have not ſo much as told their converts of a ſuperſtition which was totally unfit for that climate, and would have defeated their beſt inſtitutions.

Lastly, our politicians have accounted for the want of population of the Guaranis, from their having no property. Undoubtedly the maxim we go upon, when we conſider property as a ſource of multiplication, both of men and ſubſiſtence, is an unqueſtionable truth; but ſuch is the fate of the beſt inſtitutions, that our political errors will often endanger them. Under the law of property, when it is attended with avarice, ambition, luxury, a multitude of imaginary wants, and a thouſand other irregularities ariſing from the imperfections of our governments; the bounds of our poſſeſſions, ſometimes

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too much confined, ſometimes too much extended, at once ſtop both the fertility of our lands and the increaſe of our ſpecies. Theſe inconveniences exiſt not in Paraguay. All are ſure of a ſubſiſtence; all conſequently enjoy the great benefits of property without the name. It is not therefore properly the want of it that has prevented the progreſs of their population; but other cauſes may be aſſigned.

FIRST, the Portugueſe of S. Paul, in 1631, deſtroyed twelve or thirteen communities in the province of Guayra, the neareſt to Brazil. The greateſt part of the 97,000 Indians who lived there, periſhed by the ſword, or in ſlavery, or with hunger in the foreſts. Only 12,000 eſcaped, who fled for ſafety to other parts further diſtant from the Portugueſe.

THIS deſtruction, the repairing of which muſt be the work of ages, was followed by ſlow but inceſſant loſſes. The ſavage nations that hovered about the habitations of the Guaranis, to carry off their proviſions, barbarouſly murdered all who offered to oppoſe them.

THOSE calamities have been followed by another far more dreadful. The Europeans brought the ſmall-pox amongſt the Guaranis, and that diſtemper is more fatal in Paraguay than any other country in the world. It ſweeps away thouſands, and hardly any ever recover. It is ſurpriſing that the Jeſuits, who could not be ignorant of the ſalutary effects of inoculation on the banks of the Amazon, ſhould perſiſt in neglecting ſo ſafe and eaſy a method of ſaving the lives of their converts. It can ſcarce be ſuppoſed that legiſlators ſo enlightened could be prejudiced by the ridiculous objections of ſome ignorant divines, againſt a practice ſo univerſally authorized by its great ſucceſs.

BESIDES theſe cauſes of depopulation, the Guaranis meet with others from their own climate, which of itſelf breeds contagious diſtempers, eſpecially on the banks

banks of the Parana, where thick and conſtant fogs, under a ſultry ſky, make the air damp and unwholeſome. The Guaranis are the leſs able to reſiſt the malignancy of theſe vapours, as they are great eaters, though in a hot country. They eat their fruit green, and their meat almoſt raw; this occaſions a bad digeſtion, foul humours, and infirmities which they tranſmit to their poſterity. The maſs of blood being tainted by improper food and a noxious air, is not likely to produce a numerous and long-lived offspring.

THE Chiquitos, though they advance further into the torrid zone, are much ſtronger than the Guaranis, who live nearer the tropic and beyond it. Under the name of Chiquitos are included many ſmall nations, inhabiting a ſpace that extends from the 14th to the 21ſt degree of ſouth latitude. That country is hot, hilly and fruitful; and interſected on the weſt ſide by three rivers, which all meet and take the name of Madera; and this at laſt falls into the great river of the Amazons.

THE firſt conquerors of Peru were acquainted with the Chiquitos, but could not ſubdue them; and their ſucceſſors attempted it in vain. In 1692, the Jeſuits undertook what force could never effect. This project alarmed the Spaniards of Santa Cruz de la Sierra, who made a great profit of the ſlaves they took in thoſe parts, and ſold very dear to work in the mines of Potoſi, and for other purpoſes. They knew that the miſſionaries, who, either from religion or from ambition, had quite other views and other maxims, would never ſuffer their converts to be oppreſſed, and would not be at a loſs for means to prevent it. Their labours were obſtructed by craft, by violence, by calumny, and by all the arts that ſavage rapaciouſneſs could invent; but their conſtancy got the better of all oppoſition, and the

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ſtructure was raiſed upon the very plan that had been laid down.

By the year 1726, there were ſix large communities, among the Chiquitos at a great diſtance from each other and parted by immenſe foreſts. The population exceeded 40,000 ſouls. Their number has continued increaſing, and was almoſt double in 1746, when the new republic acknowledged the dominion of Spain, on the ſame terms as the Guaranis had done before, and they copied them in every thing.

Both theſe ſtates have raiſed an inſurmountable barrier between them and the Spaniards. They both have all things in common. It is the commonwealth that carries on trade. Their manufactures are the ſame, and ſo is their agriculture. In all parts they cultivate ſugar, tobacco, cotton, fruits, the natural corn of the country, and all the ſeveral ſorts that grow in Europe. Moſt of our animals have multiplied there, and the cows and horſes have not degenerated. The only difference between the two nations is, that the Chiquitos are ſtronger, more temperate, more aſſiduous, more active, and more laborious than the Guaranis. In all theſe reſpects they are no leſs ſuperior to the Mojos.

The Mojos live in the 12th degree of ſouth latitude. To the eaſt, their country is parted from Peru by the Cordeleras. To the ſouth, it is not far from Paraguay. To the north and weſt are unknown lands. About the year 1670, a Spaniſh Jeſuit named Baraza, a man of great ſenſibility and reſolution, took pity on theſe poor ſavages, who lived without culture, without religion, and without morals. He fixed theſe roving men, and governed them by the laws of the Guaranis. His labours and thoſe of his ſucceſſors had collected no leſs than 30,000 ſouls by the beginning of the century. We have no accounts of the progreſs of this eſtabliſhment; but if we may judge by the length of time, and the pains

pains that have been taken, we muſt ſuppoſe it to be very conſiderable.

THE Jeſuits were inceſſantly labouring to unite theſe three commonwealths, by civilizing the vagabond nations that are diſperſed up and down the intermediate deſerts; but their ſcheme, the execution of which was doubtful, or at leaſt very remote, was not conſiſtent with the ſordid views of the Spaniſh adventurers. Thoſe barbarous uſurpers of the new world, had done good ſervice to religion, as long as it was a pretext for ſhedding blood to get gold; but they no longer attended to it, when its deſign was to humanize the ſavages, in order to make them happy. Thoſe deſtroyers conſidered the Americans who had eſcaped their fury, but as ſo many inſtruments for their avarice. After they had ſtripped them of their poſſeſſions, they reduced them to ſlavery, and doomed them to work in the mines. But the Jeſuits were too artful for them, and obtained of government the freedom of all the Indians they could perſuade to come out of their foreſts and lurking places, and to live in ſociety. They ſoon found this was not a ſufficient ſecurity to their republic, and thought its ſtability required that the conquerors ſhould be excluded from interfering with them under any pretence whatſoever. They foreſaw that if they were admitted as traders, or even as mere travellers, they would aſſume a haughty and ſupercilious behaviour, would breed diſturbances, would ſow diſſentions in thoſe peaceable abodes, with the ſeeds of all kinds of corruption by their bad example. The meaſures that were taking againſt theſe dangerous men, offended them the more, as they met with the approbation of the wiſe. They were ſo exaſperated, that they filled the whole world with odious imputations, which, upon ſome ſlight appearances, were taken for demonſtrations.

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THE miſſionaries traded for the nation. They ſent the labours of their artificers, and the herb of Paraguay, to Buenos-Ayres, and received money in exchange, out of which they firſt took up the tribute of 5 livres 5 ſous [b], which every man above eighteen and under fifty years of age paid to the king. The remainder went to buy ſuch European goods as were wanted for the colony. This was the ground of the chief accuſations that were brought againſt the Jeſuits. They were traduced throughout the whole world as a ſociety of merchants, who under the veil of religion, attended only to their own ſordid intereſt.

IT muſt be confeſſed at leaſt, that the founders of the firſt inſtitutions in Paraguay did not deſerve this cenſure. The deſerts through which they travelled, afforded neither gold nor mercantile commodities. They found nothing there but foreſts, ſerpents, and moraſſes; ſometimes death, or horrid torments, and always exceſſive fatigue. The hardſhips they endured with ſo much patience, and the infinite pains they took to come at the ſavages, and induce them to quit their roving life, are far beyond what could have been compaſſed by men of common abilities. They never dreamt of appropriating to themſelves the produce of a land, which their care only prevented from being a habitation of wild beaſts. Their ſucceſſors may poſſibly have been actuated by leſs pure and diſintereſted motives; but if they have been ſo baſe as to ſeek for an increaſe of riches where they ought to have only ſought the glory of God and the good of mankind; if they have acquired lands and amaſſed treaſures in America to purchaſe conſequence in Europe, and to increaſe their influence all over the world; it is an ambition that has never affected the felicity of their converts. Thoſe people have always enjoyed an uninterrupted tranquillity, and lived ſo happily that they

[b] About 4 s. 7 d.

had

had no reaſon to lament the want of property, which they had no notion of, nor of ſuperfluities which they did not want.

But ſome who have not accuſed the Jeſuits of Paraguay of avarice, have cenſured their inſtitutions as being the work of blind ſuperſtition. If our idea of ſuperſtition is juſt, it retards the progreſs of population; it devotes to needleſs practices the time that ſhould be employed in the labours of ſociety; it ſtrips the laborious man, to enrich the ſolitary and lazy; it promotes diſcord and perſecution for things of little moment; it gives the ſignal for revolt in the name of God; it frees its miniſters from obedience to the laws, and from the duties of ſociety: in a word, it makes the people miſerable, and arms the wicked againſt the righteous. But there is no ſuch thing in Paraguay; and if ſuperſtition has created the happy inſtitutions of theſe chriſtians, who are ſtrangers to all the world beſides, it is the firſt time it ever did any good to men.

Political jealouſy, ever reſtleſs, ever fearful, ever ambitious, ſuſpected with more probability, that the republics formed by the Jeſuits might one day aſpire after abſolute independence, and poſſibly attempt to overthrow the power under whoſe protection they had been nurſed. Thoſe men who were ſo gentle, ſo perfectly united amongſt themſelves, and ſo aſſiduous in their labours, were at the ſame time the beſt ſoldiers in all America. They were well trained up and exerciſed; they obeyed from a religious principle, and fought with the ſame zeal that brought the chriſtian martyrs to the ſcaffold, and the ſame enthuſiaſm that overthrew ſo many empires by the hands of the followers of Wodin and Mohammed. They were ſtill in the full vigour of uncorrupted manners and laws; whereas the Spaniards in America, enervated by that ſloth which is the conſequence of victory and cruelty, were no longer what they

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had been at the time of their conquests; ſo that their fears were not altogether groundleſs.

In the governments that preceded the eſtabliſhment of chriſtianity, and in moſt of them that did not admit it, civil and religious authority was always in the ſame hands, as derived from the ſame ſource, and tending to the ſame end; or the one was ſo ſubſervient to the other, that the people could not ſeparate the two ideas, but were kept in awe by the one, whilſt they were ſerving the other. The wiſeſt lawgivers have always been convinced that religion, as it prepared the minds of the people to obedience, muſt ſecure the continuance of it. But in Europe, where chriſtianity roſe on the ruins of a barbarous religion and a great empire, this occaſioned from the firſt a rivalſhip between the two powers, that of arms, and that of opinion, which were both at the ſame time contending for dominion over men and their property. When the northern barbarians poured in upon the territories of the Roman empire, the chriſtians, perſecuted by the heathen emperors, implored the aſſiſtance of theſe hoſtile foreigners, againſt the government that oppreſſed them. They preached to theſe conquerors a new religion, which made it their duty to extirpate the old; and aſked for the materials of the temples to build churches. The ſavages readily gave away what did not belong to them; they offered up to chriſtianity all its enemies and their own; they took lands and men, and gave the church a ſhare of both. They demanded tribute, but exempted the clergy, becauſe they countenanced their uſurpations. Lords turned prieſts, and prieſts became lords. The great attached the privileges of their birth to the prieſthood which they embraced. The biſhops imprinted the ſeal of religion on the lands they poſſeſſed. From this mixture and confuſion of birth with high ſtations, of titles and eſtates, of perſons and things, ſprang up a power,

power, monſtrous from its birth, and which in proceſs of time became enormous; a power, which, from the very firſt, was diſtinct from the only true power, which is that of government; a power, which attempted to raiſe itſelf above government, but having been unſucceſsful in the attempt, has ſince ſeparated from it, and only lorded it over ſuch as were willing to ſubmit. Theſe two powers are ſo diſcordant, that they are inceſſantly diſturbing the harmony of ſtates and empires. BOOK VIII.

THE Jeſuits of Paraguay, who were well acquainted with this ſource of diviſion, have been warned by the miſchief their ſociety has ſometimes done in Europe, and have exerted themſelves to promote the real happineſs of America. They have united both powers into one, making every thing ſubordinate to religion; which gave them the entire diſpoſal of the thoughts, affections and faculties of their converts. The queſtion is, whether they did it for their own ſakes, or for the ſake of their ſubjects.

THE readineſs with which theſe miſſionaries, on their being diſmiſſed by the court of Madrid, have evacuated an empire which they could ſo eaſily have defended, has juſtified them in the opinion of a great part of the public, from the imputation of ambition, which their enemies have laid to their charge, and ſpread throughout all Europe. But philoſophy, which ſees with other eyes than the vulgar, waits to judge theſe lawgivers, till the behaviour of the inhabitants of Paraguay decides for or againſt them. If thoſe nations ſubmit to Spain, which has no right or force to oppoſe againſt them, it will be ſaid that the Jeſuits had taken more pains to inſpire men with notions of obedience, than to ſet them right as to the principles of natural equity, which thoſe ſavages were ſo much inclined to adopt; and that by bending them to ſubmiſſion by ignorance, they only made them happier at firſt, in order to make them one day the tools

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of their own arbitrary will. But if these people, armed and disciplined as they are, should repulse the barbarous oppressors of their country; if they should avenge those immense regions of all the blood that Spain has shed; philosophers will then say the Jesuits have laboured for the happiness of mankind with the disinterested spirit of virtue; that they have ruled over the inhabitants of Paraguay only to instruct them; that whilst they gave them a religion, they left them the fundamental notions of justice, which are the first precepts of true religion; and that they have chiefly engraved on their minds that principle of all lawful and durable society: that it is a crime for men collected together, to consent to a form of government, which, by abridging them of the liberty of disposing of their own fate, may one day make it their duty to commit crimes. Thus the tranquillity of Spanish America depends upon the opinions established in Paraguay.

Invasions to which Spanish America is exposed. Methods of preventing them.

INDEPENDENT of this danger, which may be considered as a domestic concern, Spanish America always stands exposed to foreign invasions, especially from the South Sea. It was long thought to be secure on that side, considering the distance, and the hazards of that navigation, and how little those seas were known. The Dutch, who did not think this coast of America so inaccessible, sent a small squadron thither in 1643, which easily took Baldivia, the chief port of Chili, and the key to those peaceful seas. They already possessed in imagination the treasures of those rich provinces, when want and sickness began to shake their hopes. The death of their chief increased their uneasiness, and the troops that were sent against them from Peru completely disconcerted them. Their resolution forsook them at that distance from home, and the fear of falling into the hands of a nation whose hatred they had so often experienced, determined them to embark again. If they

had had more perſeverance, they might probably have held out till the arrival of the ſuccours that would have been ſent from the Zuyder-zee, when their firſt ſucceſs came to be known.

The French were of this opinion, when in 1698 they formed a ſettlement in the ſtreights of Magellan, and on that part of the coaſt of Chili which had been neglected by the Spaniards. This ſcheme was approved by Lewis XIV, who gave it the ſanction of public authority. The cloſe connections which he ſoon after entered into with the maſters of America, prevented the execution of a project, which was more extenſive than it appeared to be.

The Engliſh had not waited for the example ſet them by Holland and France, to turn their attention to the South Sea. They were tempted by the mines as early as the year 1624, but the weakneſs of the prince who then governed them, proved the ruin of a conſiderable aſſociation formed for this great purpoſe. Charles II. reſumed this brilliant ſcheme, and ſent Sir John Narborough to reconnoitre thoſe latitudes that were ſo little known, and to endeavour to open ſome communication with the nations of Chili. That monarch was ſo impatient to know the ſucceſs of the expedition, that when he was informed of the return of his admiral to the downs, he got into his barge, and went to meet him at Graveſend. Though this firſt attempt had been of no ſervice, the miniſtry were not diſcouraged. They erected the South Sea company in 1710, who found it more convenient, or perhaps more humane, to procure the treaſures of thoſe parts by trade than by conqueſt. They were quietly enriching themſelves, when a bloody war changed the ſituation of things. A ſquadron was ſent to the South Seas, under the command of Anſon, who would probably have executed the terrible operations contained in his inſtructions, had it not been for

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the misfortunes that befel his ſquadron, which, from wrong meaſures at firſt ſetting out, was forced to double Cape Horn at a ſeaſon when it is impracticable. Since the year 1764, England is quietly trying for a ſettlement in the South Seas. The Engliſh admirals have already diſcovered ſeveral populous iſlands. Time will ſhew what uſe they may be of, and how far they may be ſerviceable towards bringing on ſome revolution.

THESE are very ſlow ſteps for ambition. But if the noble and lawful deſire of delivering half the continent of America from the Spaniſh yoke, and an emulation to ſhare its riches by fair trade and induſtry; if ſuch exalted views ſhould animate a nation, it would be an eaſy matter, by purſuing the plan laid down for Anſon, to rob Spain at one ſtroke of all her American poſſeſſions beyond the ſouthern tropic. Twelve men of war, ſent from Europe with three or four thouſand troops, might ſafely undertake it. They would firſt get refreſhments in the Brazils, at Rio Janeiro, at St. Catherine's, and at all the Portugueſe ſettlements, which are nearly concerned in the humbling of the Spaniards. If afterwards theſe ſhips ſhould want to refit, they might ſafely put in on the uninhabited and uninhabitable coaſt of Patagonia, at Port Deſire or at St. Julian. They would double Cape Horn in December and January, when thoſe ſeas are not more ſtormy than others. If they ſhould chance to ſeparate, they would meet at the deſart iſland of Socoro, and then fall upon Baldivia.

THIS place is not ſo formidable as it appears. The fortifications indeed are conſiderable, but they are out of repair. There are a hundred pieces of cannon, but few have carriages fit for uſe. They are never provided with ſtores or ammunition to ſtand a ſiege. If an attentive adminiſtration, a thing unknown in that country, ſhould remedy theſe diſorders, the reſiſtance would not be much more obſtinate. A garriſon conſiſting

fisting of officers and soldiers disgraced by their crimes, and by the banishment to which they are condemned, would always be wanting in the principles of honour, the experience and the abilities requisite to make a glorious defence. The conquerors would find a safe harbour, excellent timber, hemp, corn, and all the comforts they could wish for after a long passage. The troops, who would soon recover in so healthy and plentiful a country, would attack the rest of Chili with great superiority.

THIS kingdom, which was formerly defended by two thousand soldiers, has now but five hundred, half horse and half foot. It is true, all the Spaniards able to bear arms, and formed into companies, are obliged to join the troops; but what could these enervated and inexperienced citizens do against well-disciplined veterans? But this is not the whole. The Araucos and their friends would no sooner hear of this revolution, but they would take the field of their own accord. Their cruelty is so well known, that the Spaniards would bend all their efforts against these barbarians, and would no longer think of opposing the Europeans.

THE coast of Peru would make still less resistance. Callao, the only fortified place, has but a garrison of six hundred men. The taking of this port would open the way to Lima, which is but two leagues off, and quite defenceless. The succours that might be sent them from the inland parts, where there is not one soldier, would not save them; and the enemies squadron would intercept any that might come from Panama by sea. Panama itself, which has nothing but a bare wall, without a ditch or any outworks, would soon be obliged to surrender; the garrison, continually weakened by detachments they must send to defend Darien, Chagre and Porto-Bello, would be unable to repulse a brisk attack.

WE will allow that the enemy, though he was master of the coasts, would not be so of all Peru. No doubt the taking of two inconsiderable places is very different

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from the conquest of a vast empire. However, if we consider the bad dispositions of the Indians, the discontent of the Creoles, their sloth, their want of experience, and their ignorance in the art of war; a great revolution may not be so improbable a thing as it appears at first sight. The nation that should attack the Spaniards, would have but little less advantage over them, than they themselves had over the Americans when they first discovered them. What if the Jesuits, with that spirit of ambition they are accused of, and that resentment which religion itself cannot have extinguished in their hearts, should join with the enemies of their persecutors, and introduce them to a people who must still retain an affection for them. How easily might they engage all the inhabitants of Paraguay to revolt, and stir up a general war of all America against Spain! What a triumph for that society, for those men who are said to be so artful, and so eager in all their secret intrigues, if they could in their turn expel that nation from America, which has driven them out of all its dominions!

But supposing the success of the conqueror should be confined to the taking of Callao and Panama, Spain would then be deprived of all the treasures of the South seas. To open the communication afresh, the Spaniards would be obliged to make considerable armaments; they must not be intercepted, and they must go round cape Horn, or through the straights of Magellan. Then, without a harbour to refit or recruit, they must fight a squadron that had been supplied with all they wanted by the Isthmus of Panama; and if they could beat this squadron, they must afterwards be in a condition to besiege and take two places that would be valiantly defended. All this is not easily done.

Without executing our scheme in its full extent, the navigation of the South Seas may be intercepted. It may be done if only two strong men of war can get thither

thither undiſcovered. By cruiſing to the north and ſouth of Lima, where all buſineſs centers, nothing that comes in or out can eſcape them. The ſhips which, on account of the winds and currents, muſt always keep in the ſame line, muſt neceſſarily fall under the enemy's ſails. When trade has ſuſtained ſo many loſſes as to be afraid of ſending out any more ſhips, there is indeed an end of captures; but if the commanders are ſo faithful to their country as to be unmindful of their own intereſt, and keep their ſtation, the trade of Spain is at a ſtand.

All theſe misfortunes, which may not be far off, conſidering the boldneſs of navigators, and the recent diſcoveries made by the Engliſh in the South Seas, cannot otherwiſe be prevented, than by a ſtrong ſquadron conſtantly ſtationed there. The Spaniards have all the materials for it in their own hands. They are to be found in the South Sea, and are adapted to the climate. It muſt be granted that the crews, made up in a great meaſure of Indians or negroes, will never be equal to the European ſailors; but if they are carefully exerciſed, and accuſtomed to the ſea, to fire, to the manœuvre, and to diſcipline, they will be very well able to encounter men who are ſpent with the fatigues of a long navigation, a hot climate, ſickneſs, and bad proviſions, and who have no place where they can put in, in thoſe remote latitudes. We may even venture to affirm, that if the Spaniards could once gain the affection of the Indians, and reconcile them to their dominion, and if they could train them up to navigation, with ſuch a naval force as we have been propoſing, no nation on earth would dare to ſhew its flag in the South Seas.

But even ſuppoſing this is not to be expected, it would ſtill be highly proper to have a ſquadron always in readineſs, to be employed in caſe of a war. In the interval of peace, the men might ſpend their leiſure time in gather-

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ing up provisions along the coast, which are wasted for want of opportunities and means of exporting them. This would probably awaken the coloniſts out of that lethargy into which they have been ſunk for theſe two centuries. When they were once ſure that they could ſend their produce to Panama without any expence, and that it would be conveyed down the Chagre at a moderate rate, to be ſhipped off for Europe, they would work with alacrity from a certainty of reaping the benefit of their labour. Poſſibly in time their emulation might be ſuch as to induce the miniſtry to dig a canal, ſix leagues in length, which would complete the communication between the two oceans, which is already ſo far advanced by a navigable river. Government would of courſe ſhare with the people the benefits that would accrue from the execution of this ſcheme; unleſs the Spaniards think it their intereſt to keep the iſthmus of Panama ſhut up, as the caliphs of old, who would not open the iſthmus of Suez. The welfare of nations and the utility of commerce, loudly call for theſe two openings, to facilitate a ſpeedy intercourſe between the ſeveral nations. Eaſtern deſpotiſm and Spaniſh indolence reſiſt that freedom of trade, and that ſpirit of ſocial equality, which they are unacquainted with. They chuſe rather to ſtarve one hemiſphere that abounds with riches, and to ſee the other periſh with want and ſlavery, than to divide the earth and its treaſures between all its inhabitants. But perhaps, the court of Madrid apprehends that if the two ſeas were joined, Peru and Chili might be invaded by the northern ſea. This muſt now be inquired into.

THE Spaniſh poſſeſſions on the northern ſea, extend from the gulph of Mexico to the Oroonoko. In that immenſe ſpace, there are an infinite number of places where it is impoſſible to land, and many more where landing would anſwer no end. All the ports that have hitherto

hitherto been considered as important, such as Vera-Cruz, Chagre, Porto-Bello and Carthagena, are fortified, and some of them in a very strong manner.

Experience has shewn that none of these places were impregnable. We know of some nations who are in a condition to seize upon any one that may suit them; and it is not impossible but there may be some one power that has men, money and ships sufficient to take them all one after another; and, what is still more difficult, to keep them. The consequence would be, that the air of those rich countries, which almost all lie between the tropics, would destroy the conquerors apace. The climate is at all times dangerous for the Europeans, but mortal for six months in the year, and pestilential to all foreigners, accustomed to temperate weather, an easy life, and plentiful food. It appears from the most moderate computations, that three tenths of the French who go over to the American islands are destroyed by the climate, and four tenths of the English; whereas the Spaniards lose but one tenth on the continent, which is much more unwholesome.

Though human invention should find out some method of subduing the malignity of the climate, yet the conqueror would unavoidably be confined within the fortresses he had taken, and must never expect to share the produce of the mines, that are at an immense distance from the sea. It is inconceivable how the boldest and most fertile genius would contrive to penetrate into a desert country, without a possibility of getting at any provisions; how infantry alone could face a numerous and impetuous cavalry; how they could advance through tremendous precipices, in a country where there never was but one bad road, which would certainly be broken up, and force their way through defiles, which five hundred cowards could defend against an army of twenty thousand men.

Suppose

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SUPPOSE all these miracles were really performed; is it to be thought that the American Spaniards will submit to any foreign yoke whatever? From inclination, from laziness, from ignorance, from custom, and from pride, they are strictly attached to their religion and their government, and will never conform to new laws. Their prejudices will furnish them with weapons sufficient to repel their conqueror, as the Portuguese, thrown into a remote corner of the earth, formerly drove the Dutch out of Brazil, when they had almost entirely subdued it.

NOTHING would then remain to secure the conquest, but to destroy all the Europeans settled there: for such is the wretched fate of conquerors, that after they have seized upon a country, they must extirpate the inhabitants. But it would be odious and unjust to suspect that any civilized nation would be guilty of that excess of cruelty, which has devoted the Spaniards to the execration of all succeeding ages. Besides, this expedient would be as senseless in a political as it is horrid in a moral light. Every nation would be forced, in order to draw advantages from its new possessions, to sacrifice its own population, activity and industry, and with these its whole power. No people are so ignorant as not to know that from the beginning of the world, every state whose views have been turned to the produce of mines, has miserably perished, or languished in poverty and slavery.

YET some maritime power might be so blinded by enthusiasm, as to aim at engrossing those advantages they now share with rivals. Their intoxication would represent to them the mines carried to double their present value, and culture to a hundred times what it is now; artificers quitting the countries where they are out of employment, to incorporate into the nation that would supply America with food and raiment; the ships that carried

carried the fruits of their industry to the utmost parts of the earth, resting in harbours where the cessation of labour had put an end to navigation; every branch of trade necessarily falling into the only hands that are the dispensers of all treasures; and the whole world in some measure under the laws of the nation that had invaded all its riches.

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THIS flattering prospect would most certainly prove the ruin of any nation that should build upon it; but it would involve Spain in long and ruinous wars, which it is necessary and easy to prevent: this may be effected by means of a squadron that might be built in the island of Cuba. Her docks are the more conveniently placed at the Havanna, as the coasts that are most frequented by their ships, are for the most part under the torrid zone. The woods of Europe are too soft to resist the excessive heat of that climate, and they dry up; whereas those of the country, grown up and hardened in the hot sun, will keep for ages with a little care.

BUT it would be very wrong to confine the use of this navy to the defence of the Spanish coast. It might be usefully employed in reviving the intercourse between the national colonies, which was formerly interrupted by the privateers, and has been drooping ever since. They should prevent illicit trade, and the disputes it occasions. They should secure navigation, which is more precarious than ever, since the English were put in possession of Florida by the treaty of 1763.

SOME men of restless dispositions, who often apprehend danger where there is none, whilst they do not so much as suspect it where it really is, have suggested that the navigation of Spain might be intercepted at the entrance of the channel of Bahama. The harbour of St. Augustine is only fit for ships of a moderate size, and besides, there are so many rapid currents in these latitudes, so many reefs and shoals, and such frequent storms,

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ſtorms, that it is impoſſible for the boldeſt ſailors to cruiſe there. It would be a greater misfortune to Spain, if Great Britain ſhould find a harbour fit to admit a fleet on the coaſts of Florida in the gulph of Mexico, which at preſent are ſo little known. Poſſibly this may not be the caſe; but as the court of Madrid cannot be ſure of it, the beſt way to guard againſt ſuch a ſtroke, is to be provided with a good ſquadron.

THIS would anſwer another purpoſe which is full as important. The Engliſh colonies in North America are daily augmenting to a degree that excites univerſal aſtoniſhment. They may continue under the dominion of the mother country, or perhaps they may ſhake off the yoke. Whichever is the caſe, their wants will increaſe with their population. This is already ſo conſiderable, that the old markets are not ſufficient for the exportation of their commodities; nor the uſual returns enough for their conſumption. That deficiency muſt have been the original cauſe of that great ferment, that has lately broke out in ſo alarming a manner. Great Britain does not ſeem as yet to be aware of the true cauſes of theſe commotions, that give her ſo much uneaſineſs; but ſhe will find it out ſooner or later. The Engliſh will be ſenſible that the only way to reſtore tranquillity to their poſſeſſions abroad, is to give more extent to their trade. Neceſſity, as much as ambition, will make them conquerors in America, and it is moſt likely the ſtorm will firſt break over Mexico. Nothing but the naval force of Spain can prevent or avert the impending revolution.

THE rendezvous for theſe forces would be very ill placed at the Havanna, San Domingo, Vera-Cruz, Porto-Bello, or Carthagena, all unhealthy places; but it ſhould be at Bayahonda, between St. Martha and Maracaybo. That ſpot, though but little known, unites all the advantages that can be deſired; an excellent harbour of eaſy acceſs, and eaſily made impregnable;

preguable, great plenty of timber, a very wholesome air, and a soil equally fit for culture and breeding cattle. The savages who inhabit that country, and who fish for pearls at Cape Vela, would either withdraw, or continue their peaceable occupations, if they were treated with humanity. From this shelter, the Spanish ships would keep their enemy's settlements in awe, and protect their own.

Indeed when they had once fallen to leeward, they could easily come back. The winds blowing regularly from the several points between south-east and north-east, and the currents always setting to westward, must certainly make their passage very tedious. But this inconvenience must not be suffered to supersede a project that is so evidently necessary. It would be a great advantage, if this naval force could occasionally proceed to the South Seas; but unfortunately the nature of things will not admit of it. Before the squadron could sail towards the line, it must go up to the latitude of the streights of Gibraltar, which would be as bad as sailing from Europe. All that could be done, would be to train up seamen, and send them over-land, to man the ships that were stationed to protect the coasts of Peru.

The plan of defence we have laid down for Spain, is liable to great difficulties. That monarchy may not be in a condition to raise the necessary supplies for forming a navy, though convinced of the want of it; or able to spare a sufficient stock for the support of it. They may not confide in their managers in the new world, so as to intrust them with so important a concern. These objections, which we must confess are weighty ones, seem to be unanswerable, in the present state of languor, inaction, ignorance and dejection of that power, which was once so formidable. But a speedy and spirited reformation, supported by the zeal and authority of government,

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vernment, which would put the people upon thinking, trying, and acting, would ſoon diſpel a cloud of obſtacles, which are magnified, multiplied, and prolonged by timidity.

THESE endeavours to promote the public utility of the colonies, will certainly meet with oppoſition from thoſe who find their intereſt in protecting enormous abuſes of a long ſtanding; but it will be to very little purpoſe, if the mother country is reſolutely bent upon redreſſing thoſe grievances.

Cauſes of the decay of Spain.

ALL the political writers who have attempted to account for the miſeries under which Spain has ſo long been oppreſſed, have conſtantly repeated, that the Spaniards finding themſelves maſters of the treaſures of America, had of their own accord given up their manufactures and agriculture. This idea can never have entered into the ſyſtem of any people. Nations do not reaſon; they are directed or borne away by events, which are in the hands of their rulers. The riches of America, far from deſtroying arts, muſt, and did quicken them.

FERDINAND, by the conqueſt of the kingdom of Grenada, had acquired all the manufactures of Spain, which were almoſt all in the hands of the Moors; but they had conſiderably injured the ſale of their goods by the expulſion of the Jews. The diſcovery of America ſoon gave freſh vigour to induſtry and commerce. They both increaſed prodigiouſly under Charles V, and even under Philip II. In the laſt years of his reign, the city of Seville alone contained ſixty thouſand looms for weaving ſilks. The woollen cloth of Segovia was eſteemed the fineſt in Europe. The Levant and Italy preferred that of Catalonia to any other. The armament againſt England, known by the name of the invincible Armada, and conſiſting of a hundred and fifty large men of war, is a proof that Spain had at that time a powerful navy, and conſequently a very extenſive trade by ſea. In the compaſs of a century, the Spaniards formed

formed immenſe and very expenſive undertakings. The wars of the Low Countries and of the League alone coſt them three thouſand millions of livres *. By theſe operations, they ſent infinitely more of their money abroad, than they have ſince done by trade. BOOK VIII.

If they had then been obliged to buy the goods they ſent to their colonies, Europe would at that very time have enjoyed the treaſures of America, as ſhe does now. In that caſe, Spain could never have made prodigious armaments by ſea and land, paid ſo many foreign armies, fomented diviſions in the neighbouring ſtates, ſubverted every thing by her intrigues, been the mover of all political events, and the firſt and almoſt the only power on earth.

The viſible decay of Spain may be dated from the total expulſion of the Moors and Jews in 1611. This decay was ſo rapid, that ſome Spaniſh writers propoſed ſchemes for the political reſtoration of their empire, as early as the year 1619. It is eaſy to conceive what a vacancy the loſs of a million of laborious men muſt make in their country, at a time when the nobility, who ſtill retained all the prejudices and barbarous privileges of the Viſigoths, from whom they boaſted their deſcent, threw all the labour upon that claſs of men they deſpiſed, though in fact the moſt uſeful. The military, that deſtructive profeſſion, was the only one that was entitled to any diſtinction; and the arts, which are the ſource of affluence, were looked upon as a diſgrace. If there was any agriculture, it was becauſe there were ſlaves. If there was any trade, it was becauſe there were Jews. Laſtly, if Spain had any manufactures, it was owing to the Moors, who led a laborious life, and were loaded with infamy. Government did not conſider, that the only way to keep the treaſures of America in the mother country, was to encourage induſtry at home. The only active part of

* 231,250,000 l.

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the nation, the only set of men that could promote that great end, were shamefully banished. In vain did these unhappy sufferers offer the government twenty millions, and they would have given three times as much, for leave to continue where they were born; the same superstition that had doomed them to destruction, would not suffer their cries to be heard. There was not one power in Europe prudent enough to offer them an asylum, and they were forced to disperse in Africa and Asia.

Whilst these unfortunate persons were flying to those barbarous coasts, Spain was exulting in her blind fanaticism; and thought herself still the richest power on the face of the globe, little suspecting that the ships that crowded her harbours, were but so many spunges that were draining her vitals. When the Spaniards perceived the diminution of their specie, they imputed it to the loss of some India ships that had been cast away in their passage home, to the taking of the galleons by the Dutch, and to the badness of their sales. They thought to supply these deficiencies by laying higher duties on manufactures and artificers. But this burden, which would have been too heavy for many, was intolerable to the few remaining workmen. They fled to Flanders and Italy, or staid at home and threw up their profession. The silks of Valencia, and the fine wool of Andalusia and Castile, were no longer manufactured by the Spaniards.

The treasury having no more manufactures to oppress, now oppressed the farmers. The taxes levied upon agriculture, were as ill judged as they were various and excessive. Besides general duties, there was what the financiers call extraordinary duties, which is a mode of levying money upon a particular class of citizens; a kind of tax which does no good to the state, and ruins those who are taxed, to enrich the selfish contriver.

These

These resources proving inadequate to the urgent necessities of government, the financiers were called upon to advance considerable sums. At that period it was, that they became masters of the state, and were empowered to farm out the several parts of their lease. This introduced a multitude of agents, and with them numberless oppressions. The by-laws that these rapacious men were allowed to enact, were but so many snares to entrap the honest and credulous. In process of time, they usurped the sovereign authority, and found means to elude the royal tribunals, to chuse private judges for themselves, and to pay them. In short, they came to be judges in their own cause.

The owners of the lands that were crushed by this tyranny, either threw up their estates, or took no pains to improve them. That fertile peninsula, which, though subject to frequent droughts, still fed thirteen or fourteen millions of inhabitants before the discovery of America, and had anciently been the granary of Rome and all Italy, was soon covered with thorns and briars. They contracted the pernicious habit of fixing the price of corn; and contrived to have public granaries in every commonalty, which were consequently managed without either skill or honesty. Besides, what good could be expected to accrue from such deceitful measures? Who could ever think of hindering corn from fetching a good price, in order to increase the quantity of it; to make the necessaries of life more chargeable, in order to make them cheaper; or to facilitate monopoly, in order to prevent it?

When once a nation has begun to decline, it seldom stops. The loss of population, of the manufactures, of trade, and of agriculture, was attended with the greatest evils. Whilst Europe was daily improving in knowledge, and all nations were animated with a spirit of industry, Spain was falling into inaction and barbarism.

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The duties paid at the old cuſtom houſes, which were ſtill ſuffered to ſubſiſt in the paſſage from one province to another, were carried to ſuch a pitch, as to cut off all communication between them. Even the conveyance of money from one to another, was prohibited. In a ſhort time, not the leaſt ſign of a road was to be ſeen. Travellers were ſtopped at the croſſing of rivers, where there was neither bridge nor boats. There was not a ſingle canal, or one navigable river. The moſt ſuperſtitious people in the world, as to the obſervance of faſt days, ſuffered their fiſheries to drop, and bought fiſh every year to the amount of twelve millions *. Except a few ill-built veſſels deſtined for their colonies, they had not a ſingle national ſhip in their harbours. Their coaſts lay expoſed to the depredations of the Barbary corſairs. To eſcape falling into their hands, they were obliged to freight upon foreign bottoms, even the *aviſos* they ſent to the Canary iſlands and to America. Philip IV, with all the rich mines of America, at once found all his gold turned to copper, and was reduced to ſet a price to his copper coin, almoſt equal to that of ſilver.

THESE were not the greateſt grievances of the monarchy. Spain, full of a ſtupid and ſuperſtitious veneration for the age of her conqueſts, ſcornfully rejected whatever was not practiſed in thoſe glorious days. The Spaniards ſaw all other nations growing more enlightened, more exalted, and more powerful, but thought it beneath them to copy after any of them. Their diſtinguiſhing character is the higheſt contempt for the cuſtoms and manners of their neighbours.

THE inquiſition, that tremendous tribunal, ſet up at firſt to ſtop the progreſs of Judaiſm and Mohammediſm, had proved fatal to arts, ſciences, and all uſeful knowledge. Spain indeed was not diſturbed or waſted with

* 525,000 l.

religious

religious diviſions; but remained ſtupidly ſunk in the moſt profound ignorance. Religious diſputes, though always bad in themſelves, at leaſt exerciſe the mind. They put men upon reading and meditating. They make men conſult antiquity, ſtudy hiſtory, and the ancient languages; hence ariſes criticiſm, which is productive of ſolid taſte. They ſoon grow weary of the topic that firſt inflamed them; the controverſy is at an end, but the erudition remains. Religious matters are like thoſe acid and volatile particles that exiſt in all bodies fit for fermentation. They firſt cloud the limpid liquor, but ſoon put the whole maſs in motion. In this ferment, they fly off or ſink to the bottom. The moment of depuration comes, and nothing remains but a ſoft, pleaſant, and nutritive fluid. But in the general ferment of theological diſputes, all the dregs were left in Spain. Superſtition had ſo ſtupified the nation, that they gloried in their blindneſs. BOOK VIII.

INSTEAD of that activity which could alone convey life to the ſeveral parts of thoſe wide dominions that lay too much ſcattered, the Spaniards were ſo ſlow in all their motions, that all buſineſs was impeded. They went through ſo many formalities, and took ſo many precautions not to be cheated, that they never could act.

WAR was no better managed than politics. A population which was hardly ſufficient for the many garriſons they kept in Italy, in the Low Countries, in Africa, and in the Indies, put it out of their power to raiſe an army at home. At the firſt breaking out of a war, they were obliged to have recourſe to foreign troops. The few Spaniards who were ſent to fight along with theſe mercenaries, were ſo far from being able to manage them, that their own allegiance was frequently ſhaken by this intercourſe. They have ſeveral times been known to join with the foreigners, in ravaging the

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provinces that were committed to their care and protection.

A REGULAR pay would infallibly have prevented, or ſoon put a ſtop to this ſpirit of ſedition. But to pay armies, and to keep them in that dependence and ſubordination ſo neceſſary to good diſcipline, government ſhould have ſuppreſſed that multitude of needleſs officers, who by their ſalaries and their oppreſſions abſorbed the greateſt part of the public revenue; the moſt ancient rights of the crown ſhould not have been alienated for a trifling conſideration, or ſuffered to be invaded; nor ſhould the royal treaſures have been ſquandered, to keep ſpies and to procure traitors in every country. Above all things, the grandeur of the prince ſhould not have been made to conſiſt in granting penſions and favours to all who had no other claim, but that which they derived from their boldneſs in aſking for them.

THIS noble and criminal beggary was grown a general faſhion. The Spaniard, born generous and grown proud, and diſdaining the common occupations of life, aſpired after nothing but governments, prelacies, and the chief poſts in the magiſtracy.

THOSE who could not attain to theſe preferments, glorying in their proud indolence, ſtill put on the ſtyle of the court, and maintained as much gravity in their idleneſs, as a miniſter abſorbed in ſtate affairs.

EVEN the lower ſort would have thought they defiled their victorious hands, by proſtituting them to peaceful labours. The fields and workſhops were left to foreigners, who came and enriched themſelves by the indolence of the natives, and carried home a ſtock to fertilize their own lands.

MEN born to no property, meanly preferring idle ſlavery to laborious liberty, eagerly offered themſelves to increaſe that multitude of domeſtics that the great kept in their retinue, with that pomp which magnificently

displays the pride of the most useless, and the degradation of the most necessary class of men. BOOK VIII.

Those who could not stoop to be menial servants, and had too much vanity to live without some distinction, crowded into the convents, where superstition had long since provided a convenient retreat for their laziness, and where folly went so far as to bestow distinctions upon them.

Even the Spaniards who had decent fortunes, chose to live single, rather than be at the pains of providing for a family. Some who did marry, followed the example of the great; they first gave their sons the superstitious education of the colleges, and at fifteen, gave them up to the courtezans. These young people grew old before their time both in body and mind, and wasted their faculties in these infamous connections, which they did not even break off when they entered into the sacred ties of matrimony. This licentiousness accounts for the decay of population in Spain, where families were formerly as numerous as in any other country.

Out of this degenerate race were taken the men who were to hold the reins of government. Their administration was answerable to their education, being a constant scene of idleness and corruption. They seldom shewed any sense of virtue or equity, or the least desire of promoting the happiness of their fellow-creatures. They thought of nothing but plundering the provinces committed to their care, to go and squander their ill-acquired riches in rioting at Madrid. This wickedness always went unpunished, though it often occasioned seditions, insurrections, conspiracies, and sometimes revolutions.

Besides all this, the states that were united to Castile by marriage or conquest, help to complete their ruin. The low countries did not bring in enough to pay the garrisons that were kept to defend them. Franche

Comté brought in nothing at all; Sardinia, Sicily and the Milaneſe leſs than nothing. The tributes of Naples and Portugal were mortgaged to ſtrangers. Arragon, Valencia, Catalonia, Rouſſillon, the Baſearic iſlands and Navarre, pretended they owed nothing to the monarchy but a free gift, which was always ſettled by their deputies, but ſeldom to the liking of a rapacious court, exhauſted by ſenſeleſs generoſities.

WHILST all was thus running into confuſion in Spain, the treaſures of America, which at firſt had only found their way to other European nations by the contingencies of war and politics, now flowed into them by an eaſy and peaceable track. As the mother country could not poſſibly ſupply the wants of her colonies, this quickened the induſtry of other nations, which till then had been extremely confined. The natural owners of the riches of America had little left but the duties of the fifth, the indulto, guarda coſtas, cuſtoms and commiſſion; which have enhanced the value of the commodities; but this no further affects the foreign merchants, than as it reduces the conſumption; for it all falls upon the Peruvians and Mexicans, who are the conſumers. It is by this means that the gold and ſilver which America has poured into Europe has got into many hands, and are more equally diſtributed.

IN vain were all foreign nations excluded from trading in any of the American ports, by a ſevere law enacted by Ferdinand and Iſabella, and confirmed by their ſucceſſors. The more imperious law of neceſſity has ſuperſeded this regulation, which was intended to be perpetual, and has thrown all that trade into foreign hands. Out of about fifty millions* worth of commodities and merchandiſe that are annually ſhipped off from Cadiz for the Weſt Indies, ſcarce one eighth is Spaniſh property. The reſt belongs to other nations, friends or

* 2,188,000l.

foes,

foes, ſent in the name of Spaniards, who are always true to private perſons, and always falſe to the law. The honeſty of the Spaniards, which has never been attainted, has been a ſecurity to foreigners in this trade.

GOVERNMENT, who could not be ignorant of the miſchiefs ariſing from theſe perpetual breaches of the law, thought to obviate them by a more abſurd one than the former. They prohibited, upon pain of capital puniſhment, the exportation of gold and ſilver; as if the Spaniards were not obliged to pay for what they wanted to buy. When the execution of this law was enforced, the Spaniard who is the factor at Cadiz for other nations, delivered the bullion to ſome bravoes, called *Meteors*, who being well armed, went upon the ramparts with the bullion all numbered, and toſſed it down to other meteors, who carried it to the boats that were waiting for it. They were never diſturbed by the factors, the cuſtom-houſe officers or the guards, who all came in for a ſhare in the fraud, juſtified by the iniquity of the law; and the foreign merchant was never cheated. The prohibition of exporting gold and ſilver was to ſo little purpoſe, that though a prodigious quantity came over every year from America, there was very little ſeen in the kingdom. Greater ſeverity would only have advanced the price of goods, by increaſing the difficulty of paying for them. If, in conformity to the ſtrictneſs of the proclamations, the delinquent had been apprehended, tried, and condemned to death, and all his goods forfeited; ſuch an atrocious deed, far from preventing, would only have increaſed the ſending money out of the kingdom; becauſe thoſe who had before been content with a moderate profit, would require more when the riſque was greater, and would have ſent away more money, that they might get the more.

THE court of Madrid has at laſt been convinced of the pernicious tendency of this tyranny. The ancient

govern-

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governments, who had a due respect for the laws, would certainly have repealed any one, if they had found that the observance of it was absolutely impossible. In our modern times, when kingdoms are governed more by the caprice of administration than by rational principles, Spain has only agreed of late years, that the foreign trade should have all the profit of the goods it should send to America, only paying three per cent. The money was to be transmitted by bankers, settled for that purpose in the principal cities of Europe. The object of the ministry was, to make themselves masters of the trade of piastres, and consequently of the exchange. This plan, which was, perhaps, more extensive than just, has not succeeded. The agents they had made choice of, have betrayed the trust reposed in them. The court of Spain has not persisted in propping up this tottering edifice. Every private man is now at liberty to draw his money from Spain, upon paying the accustomed duties, which in the year 1768 were advanced from three to four per cent. If they were more moderate, government would derive greater advantages from them. There are certain times when the Spanish smugglers can bring the piastres on board the ships, for a price below the stated value; and it may easily be imagined those opportunities are eagerly seized.

Causes of the decay of the Spanish colonies.

WHILST the mother country was drooping, the colonies could not possibly thrive. If the Spaniards had understood their true interest, they would, perhaps, on the first discovery of America, have been content with establishing an honest intercourse with the Indians, which would have settled a mutual dependence, and reciprocal profits between the two nations. The manufactures of the old world, would have been bartered for the produce of the mines of the new; and wrought iron would have been changed for its weight of unwrought silver. A lasting union, the necessary consequence of a peaceable

able traffic, would have been eſtabliſhed without bloodſhed or deſolation. Spain would equally have been miſtreſs of Mexico and Peru; for any nation that cultivates the arts, and does not impart the proceſs and exerciſe of them, will always have an evident ſuperiority over another that buys their produce.

They did not proceed upon theſe principles. The eaſe with which they had ſubdued the Indians, the aſcendant that Charles V. aſſumed over all Europe, the natural pride of conquerors, the particular temper of the Spaniards, their ignorance of the true principles of commerce; all theſe and many other cauſes, prevented them from giving good laws, a ſound adminiſtration, and a ſolid baſis to their American conqueſts at firſt ſetting out.

The depopulation of America was the deplorable effect of this confuſion. The firſt ſteps of the conquerors were marked with ſtreams of blood. Aſtoniſhed as much at their own victories, as the ſavages were at their defeat, and intoxicated with their ſucceſs, they reſolved to extirpate the people they had plundered. Innumerable nations vaniſhed from the face of the earth at the arrival of theſe barbarians; and all their abominable cruelties have been hitherto imputed to the thirſt of gold, joined with fanaticiſm.

But the ſavage nature of man, which was not reſtrained by the dread of puniſhment, or by any ſenſe of ſhame, or awed by the preſence of civilized witneſſes, might ſo far conceal from the Spaniards the image of an organiſation ſimilar to their own, an analogy which is the baſis of all moral duties, as to induce them to treat their new-diſcovered brethren as they did the wild beaſts of the other hemiſphere, and to do it with as little remorſe; that the cruelty of the military ſpirit is apt to increaſe in proportion to paſt, preſent, and future dangers: that the ſoldier is of a more

ſanguinary

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ſanguinary diſpoſition in remote countries than at home; and that the feelings of humanity will wear off, as a man goes further from his native country. It may likewiſe be conjectured that the Spaniards, who, on their firſt landing, were taken for Gods, might be afraid of being detected and murdered; that they miſtruſted the marks of kindneſs that were ſhewn them; that when once they had begun to ſhed blood, they thought their own ſafety required that they ſhould proceed on the ſame plan; that their handful of men, ſurrounded by an innumerable multitude of natives, whoſe language they did not underſtand, and whoſe cuſtoms and manners they were ſtrangers to, were ſeized with a panic, either well or ill grounded. But the moſt incomprehenſible circumſtance in all this matter, is the ſtupid barbarity of government, that countenanced all thoſe horrors, and kept thoſe profligate men in pay to perſecute and deſtroy their brethren.

The Spaniards, the deſcendents or ſlaves of the Viſigoths, like them divided amongſt themſelves the deſert lands, and the men who had eſcaped their ſword. Moſt of theſe wretched victims did not long ſurvive, in a ſtate of ſlavery worſe than death. The laws that were enacted from time to time to alleviate the hardſhips of their ſervitude, proved but a ſmall relief. The ſavage, proud, and rapacious Spaniards paid as little regard to the commands of a monarch who was too far remote from them, as to the tears of the poor miſerable Indians.

The mines proved ſtill a greater cauſe of deſtruction. Ever ſince the diſcovery of America, the Spaniards had attended to nothing but this ſpecies of wealth. In vain did ſome ſenſible men, wiſer than the generality of the age, exclaim againſt this infatuation. Let the gold remain where it is, ſaid they, provided the ſurface of the earth that covers it can but produce an ear of corn that will

will make bread, or a blade of grass to feed your sheep. The only metal you want is iron. Work it into saws, hammers, and plough-shares, but not into murderous weapons. The quantity of gold requisite for the purposes of exchange is so little, that it is needless to lay in an immense stock. It is very immaterial whether a hundred ells of cloth are represented by a pound of gold or by twenty pounds. The Spaniards have done like the dog in the fable, that dropped the meat out of his mouth to bite at the image of it in the water, and was drowned in going after it.

UNFORTUNATELY the Indians were the victims of this fatal error. Those ill-fated men were sent to work under ground, where they were deprived of day-light, of free and wholesome air, of the chief supports of life, and of the comfort of weeping with their friends and relations; and were doomed to dig their own graves in those dark mansions, which now contain more ashes of the dead than gold dust. If we consider this barbarous treatment, we cannot but be astonished to hear the covetous and stupid Spaniard complain that the Indians will not tell them of several mines they have discovered both before and since the conquest. Those wretched people would only multiply the means of their own destruction, by betraying the secret they have received from their fathers, or that chance has thrown in their way.

THE unhappy Indians whom chance had submitted to the yoke, have therefore fled in great numbers from the lands they cultivated for their rapacious masters, and taken refuge among the savages who wander in the forests and deserts of the Cordeleras. Those impenetrable recesses are become the asylum of multitudes of Indians, who constantly threaten the Spanish provinces with sudden invasion or open war. They contract a ferociousness in those rough climates, which makes them so formidable, that the Spaniards have been obliged to forsake some

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ſome very rich mines, that lay within reach of their inroads. The deficiencies in their population, occaſioned by the barrenneſs of the ſoil, the want of forecaſt, and of the reſources of ſociety, are made up by a conſtant ſupply of fugitives, who fly from European tyranny. It is in theſe mountains that a race is ſecretly regenerating, which will one day aſſert their lawful rights, and recover their liberty and property out of the cruel and rapacious hands of the uſurper; and, perhaps, that day is not far off.

ANOTHER cauſe of depopulation is, that the Europeans have taught them new wants, whilſt they robbed them of the means of ſatisfying them. Before the conqueſt, the Indians went naked, or made their own garments, which was their employment, and a kind of trade. Their whole care was to cultivate a field of maize. They had no occaſion for money, and all their traffic conſiſted in exchanging one thing for another. Since the Indian has been taught to live in ſociety, he muſt have lodging and food, and often have recourſe to foreign goods for his clothing. For want of arts and trades, he is unable to purchaſe theſe neceſſaries. He falls into a ſtate of deſpondency; and if he did not, his labour would hardly bring in enough for his unavoidable expences; ſo that, the luxury and the poverty which oppreſs him, have reduced him to the neceſſity of living in a ſolitary manner, and to give up all thoughts of his poſterity.

THIS cauſe of depopulation brought on another ſtill more dreadful, which made all Europe ſhudder. The celebrated Drake, having taken the town of St. Domingo in 1586, found that the iſlanders were grown ſo deſperate, that, rather than ſee their children fall into the hands of the conqueror, they were unanimouſly come to a reſolution to have no connection with their wives. This is the only inſtance of the kind ever recorded in hiſtory, and a ſtanding monument of Spaniſh tyranny, which

which not only ſhed the blood of the fathers, but prevented the exiſtence of the unborn. What elſe could the Americans oppoſe to the thirſt of deſtruction than this horrid vow of ceaſing to regenerate? BOOK VIII.

FROM this period there ſeemed to be a curſe upon the land. The empire founded by thoſe barbarous conquerors ſoon fell to pieces. Profligacy made a rapid progreſs. The moſt important fortreſſes mouldered away. The country was left without arms or magazines. The ſoldiers who were neither exerciſed, fed, nor clothed, became beggars or thieves. The very elements of war and navigation were forgotten; and the very names of the inſtruments made uſe of in thoſe two neceſſary arts.

TRADE was but the art of cheating. The gold and ſilver, which were to go into the king's coffers, were continually pilfered, and reduced to a fourth part of what they ſhould have been. All orders of men, corrupted by avarice, joined to hinder truth from reaching the throne, or to ſave the prevaricators who were obnoxious to the law. The higheſt and loweſt magiſtrates always acted in concert, to ſupport each other in their injuſtice.

THE confuſion occaſioned by all theſe robberies, introduced the fatal expedient of all ill-governed ſtates, that of numberleſs taxes; as if government were determined to diſcourage induſtry at any rate.

IGNORANCE kept pace with injuſtice. "I ſaw, ſays "a celebrated traveller, the very ſame ſentence paſſed "in one and the ſame tribunal, and almoſt within the "ſame hour, in two caſes that were directly oppoſite. "All endeavours to make the judges underſtand the diſ- "ference was to no purpoſe. At laſt the chief judge, "ſeeming to be convinced, roſe up, and tucking up his "whiſkers, ſwore by the holy virgin, and all the ſaints, "that the Engliſh Lutherans had run away with *pope*

"*Juſtinian's*

"Justinian's books, which he always made use of to "try intricate causes: but if those dogs should ever "come again, he would have them all burnt.

THE same traveller relates that "one day Ovid's "Metamorphoses fell into the hands of a creole, he "carried it to a friar, who understood no more of it "than himself, and made the inhabitants believe it "was an English bible: he proved it by the prints "he shewed them at every Metamorphosis, saying; see "how those dogs worship the devil, and how he trans-"forms them into beasts. Then the pretended bible "was thrown into a fire kindled on purpose, and the "monk made a long oration, which consisted of thanks-"givings to St. Francis for this lucky discovery."

As ignorance is always favourable to superstition, the ministers of religion, without being more enlightened than others, took the lead in all business. As they were less liable to punishment, they were always the first to violate all principles of equity, and all rules of morality and decency. The best among them were traders, and the rest took advantage of their ecclesiastical power to extort from the Indians all they were possessed of. A Spanish monk who did not make at least a hundred thousand livres in a short trip to America was reckoned an ill manager. Their rapaciousness was often voluntarily gratified at their arrival by presents of immense value. One would have imagined that America had been conquered for no other purpose than to ornament the churches and to enrich the clergy.

THE hatred that commenced between the Spaniards born in America, and those who came from Europe, completed their ruin. The court had imprudently laid the foundation of these unhappy divisions. The Creoles were represented to them as little better than barbarians, and much the same as Indians. They thought they

could

could not depend upon their ſkill, their courage, or their fidelity, and therefore determined to exclude them from all places of truſt and profit. They were offended at this injurious reſolution. Far from endeavouring to ſooth them, thoſe who were inveſted with authority over them, made it their buſineſs to exaſperate them by mortifying partialities. This produced an inveterate hatred between the two claſſes, one of which was loaded with favours, and the other ſtigmatized with diſgrace. This animoſity has broke out more than once in ſuch a manner as to endanger the dominion of the mother country in the new world; and will ſome time or other occaſion a revolution. Theſe revolutions will certainly take place, and, perhaps, are not far off; for the clergy on both ſides, who have adopted the ſame hatred and animoſities, will never forego them, and will endeavour according to the ſpirit that has always actuated them to make the people irreconcileable. BOOK VIII.

SINCE the acceſſion of the Bourbon family to the throne of Charles V. theſe diſorders, and the evils ariſing from them, have abated a little. The nobility do not affect thoſe high airs of royalty which often perplexed the government. The management of public affairs is not now confined to perſons of high birth, but is given to men in favour, men of fortune or of merit. The produce of the general and provincial revenues of Spain, which a deteſtable adminiſtration had reduced to leſs than eight millions [g] towards the latter end of the laſt century, now brings in 72,656,805 livres [h]. This happy change which began by the mother country, extended afterwards to the colonies. The three departments that are intruſted with the management of their affairs in Europe, have gradually loſt ſomething of that evil ſpirit

[g] 350,000 l. [h] 3,178,735 l. 4 s. 4 d. ½

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which ſeemed to preſide over their proceedings. The council for Indian affairs being removed, takes better care of their government and preſervation. The contractation removed from Saville to Cadiz, manages their trade with greater ſkill. The conſulate, which takes cognizance of the differences ariſing between the merchants trading to that part of America, and is appointed to watch over the maintenance of their privileges, has acquired a greater degree of activity and knowledge.

Means that Spain ought to employ to re-eſtabliſh itſelf.

THESE firſt ſteps towards a reformation muſt be an encouragement to the Spaniſh miniſtry to hope they will attain to a good adminiſtration, when once they are acquainted with the true principles, and employ the proper means. The character of the nation is not an invincible obſtacle to this change, as it is too generally thought to be. Indolence is not ſo natural to them as we imagine. If we look back to the times when this unfavourable prejudice was firſt conceived, we ſhall find that this languor did not extend to every thing; and that if Spain was idle at home, ſhe was not ſo abroad, but was inceſſantly diſturbing the repoſe of her neighbours. Her idleneſs proceeds in a great meaſure from fooliſh pride. Becauſe the nobility did nothing, the people imagined it was noble to do nothing. They all wanted to enjoy the ſame prerogative; and the ſtarved, half-naked Spaniard, careleſly ſitting on the ground, looks with pity on his neighbours, who are well clothed, live well, work, and laugh at his folly. The one deſpiſes from a motive of pride, what the others ſeek after from vanity; the conveniences of life. The climate made the Spaniard abſtemious, and indigence renders him more ſo. The monkiſh ſpirit, which has long governed him, makes a virtue of that poverty which is the reſult of vice. As he has nothing, he covets nothing; but he hates work ſtill more than he deſpiſes riches.

THAT

THAT poor and proud people have nothing left of their ancient character, but an immoderate fondneſs for every thing that has the appearance of grandeur. They muſt be flattered with chimerical ideas, and with an immenſe proſpect of glory. The ſatisfaction they feel in depending on none but the crown ſince the abaſement of the grandees, makes them receive all that comes from the court with reſpect and confidence. This powerful influence might be made ſubſervient to their happineſs. Some means might be contrived to perſuade them that labour is honourable, and the nation will ſoon become again what it was before the diſcovery of America, in thoſe glorious times, when, without any foreign aid, Spain threatened the liberties of all Europe.

WHEN the imagination of the people is once properly directed, and they are brought to bluſh at their proud inaction, other evils muſt be attended to. The moſt dangerous to the bulk of the nation is the want of population. Well-governed colonies will naturally increaſe the population of the mother country, which on her ſide promotes the increaſe of theirs, by ſupplying them with advantageous marts for the produce of their induſtry. It is on this plan, alike intereſting to humanity and ſound policy, that the more enlightened nations of Europe have formed their ſettlements in America. This wiſe and noble deſign has in all parts been crowned with ſucceſs. Spain alone, which had formed her ſyſtem in a darker age, has ſeen her population decreaſe at home, in proportion as her poſſeſſions increaſed abroad.

WHEN the diſproportion between the extent of a territory and its inhabitants is not extreme, the balance may be gradually reſtored by activity, oeconomy, great encouragements given to matrimony, and a long peace.

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Spain, whoſe population, in the year 1747, amounted to no more than 7,423,590 ſouls, including 180.046 eccleſiaſtics; and who has now in her colonies little more than the twentieth part of the population there was ſoon after the conqueſt, cannot remedy this evil either at home or abroad without new and extraordinary efforts. To increaſe the laborious claſſes of men, there muſt be a reduction of the clergy, which alike enervates and devours the ſtate. Two thirds of her military forces muſt be diſmiſſed, and reſtored to the arts; ſince her connection with France, and the weakneſs of Portugal, no longer render them neceſſary. As their clear revenue is 112,000,000 [j], and the ſtanding out-goings are but 96,000,000 [k], government muſt think ſeriouſly of eaſing the people, as ſoon as their poſſeſſions in both hemiſpheres are extricated from that confuſion into which they had been thrown, by two whole centuries of incapacity, ignorance and tyranny. Above all things, the infamous tribunal of the inquiſition muſt be aboliſhed, which ſeems to be levelled equally againſt the monarch and the people, by keeping both under the yoke of ſtupid and blind ſuperſtition.

SUPERSTITION, whatever may be the reaſon of it, prevails among all nations, whether rude or civilized. No doubt it proceeds from the fear of evil, and from the ignorance of its cauſes or of its remedy. At leaſt this is enough to imprint it in the minds of all men. The calamities of nature, plagues, ſickneſs, unforeſeen accidents, deſtructive phænomena, all the latent cauſes of pain and death, are ſo univerſal on earth, that it would be very ſurpriſing if man had not been deeply affected by them at all times and in all countries.

BUT this natural fear muſt always have increaſed, or have been magnified in proportion to ignorance and ſenſibility.

[j] 4,900,000 l. [k] 4,200,000 l.

ſibility. It muſt have given riſe to the worſhip of the elements that do moſt miſchief on earth, ſuch as inundations, conflagrations and plagues; the worſhip of animals, whether venomous or voracious, but always hurtful; the worſhip of men who have done the greateſt miſchief to mankind, of conquerors, of fortunate impoſtors, of the workers of prodigies, apparently good or bad; the worſhip of inviſible and imaginary beings, ſuppoſed to lie concealed in every inſtrument of miſchief. Meditation and the ſtudy of nature muſt have inſenſibly leſſened the number of theſe inviſible agents, and the human mind muſt have riſen from idolatry to theiſm; but this laſt ſimple and ſublime idea will always have remained imperfect and confuſed in the minds of the vulgar, and mixed with a multitude of errors and fancies.

REVELATION had confirmed the pure doctrine of one only being; and, perhaps, a more incorrupt religion would then have been eſtabliſhed, had not the northern barbarians, who poured in upon the ſeveral provinces of the Roman empire, brought along with them their own ſacred prejudices, which could not be diſpelled but by other fables. Unfortunately chriſtianity was preached to minds incapable of underſtanding it thoroughly. They would not embrace it, unleſs it was attended with that pomp and ſhew, of which ignorance is ſo fond. Intereſt loaded and diſfigured it more and more, inventing every day new doctrines and miracles, which were the more revered as they were leſs credible. The nations, engaged during twelve centuries in dividing and conteſting about the ſeveral provinces of univerſal monarchy, which one nation had formed in leſs than two hundred years, admitted without examination all the errors which the prieſts, after much controverſy, had agreed to teach the multitude.

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But the clergy, too numerous to agree long, had cherished the seeds of division, which they must sooner or later communicate to the people. The time came when the same spirit of ambition and avarice that devoured the whole church, rose up with great animosity against many superstitions that were universally adopted.

As it was from custom that the people had received all those puerile notions with which they had suffered themselves to be soothed, and that they were not attached to them from national principles or party spirit, those who were most interested in supporting them, were unable to defend them, when they were attacked with that steadiness that was calculated to fix the attention of the public. But nothing so much promoted the reformation of Luther and Calvin, as the liberty they granted to every one to examine and pass his own judgment, upon the religious principles he had been taught. Though the multitude was incapable of undertaking this discussion, every one was proud of managing his own concerns in so great and important an affair. The commotion was so general, that it is not improbable the new opinions would every where have triumphed over the old, had not the magistracy thought it their interest to stem the torrent. Implicit obedience was as necessary for the support of the supreme magistracy, as for that of religion, and was the surest foundation of its authority. Monarchs were afraid that those who had once overturned the old and firm foundations of Romish hierarchy, might next proceed to examine into their own prerogatives. The republican spirit which naturally spread itself among the reformed, contributed to increase this distrust.

The kings of Spain, more jealous of their power than other sovereigns, endeavoured to support it, by esta-

bliſhing a more uniform ſyſtem of ſuperſtition. They were not aware that the opinions of men concerning an unknown Being cannot be all alike. In vain did reaſon expoſtulate with thoſe weak monarchs, alledging that no power had a right to preſcribe to men what they were to think; that ſociety, in order to ſupport itſelf, is under no neceſſity of reſtraining the freedom of the ſoul; and that to compel men to ſubſcribe to certain articles of faith, is to exact a falſe oath, which makes a man a traitor to his conſcience, in order that he may be a faithful ſubject; and that a citizen who ſerves his country, is, in a political light, preferable to him who is orthodox to no purpoſe. Theſe permanent and inconteſtable principles were not attended to. They were overruled by the proſpect of a great advantage, and ſtill more by the furious outcries of a multitude of fanatical prieſts, who delayed not to aſſume the ſupreme authority. The prince, become the ſlave of theſe prieſts, was forced to abandon his ſubjects to their caprices; to ſuffer them to be oppreſſed, and to become idle ſpectators of the cruelties exerciſed againſt them. From that time, ſuperſtitious manners, beneficial only to the prieſthood, became prejudicial to ſociety. A people thus corrupt and degenerate, were the moſt cruel of all people. Their obedience to the monarch was ſubordinate to the will of the prieſt; who oppreſſed every other power, and was in fact the ſovereign of the ſtate.

INACTION was the neceſſary conſequence of a ſuperſtition that enervated all the faculties of the ſoul. The project which the Romans formed from their very infancy of becoming maſters of the world, ſhewed itſelf even in their religion. It was Victory, Bellona, Fortune, the genius of the Roman people, Rome herſelf, that were their gods. A nation that aimed at treading in their ſteps, and thought of becoming conquerors, adopted a monkiſh government, which has deſtroyed every

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proſpect of ſucceſs, and will effectually prevent their reſtoration either in Spain or in America, unleſs this kind of government itſelf is totally ſubverted. The ſuppreſſion of the inquiſition muſt certainly haſten this great change; and it is pleaſing to think that if the court of Madrid will not determine upon this neceſſary ſtep, they will one day be compelled to it by a humane conqueror, who will inſert it as the firſt article in a treaty of peace, that *the autos-da-fé ſhall be aboliſhed in all the Spaniſh dominions both at home and abroad.*

THOUGH this meaſure is neceſſary towards the reſtoration of the monarchy, it is not alone ſufficient. Though Spain has been more aſſiduous to conceal her weakneſs, than ſhe need have been to acquire ſtrength, the world is not unacquainted with her infirmities. They are of ſuch long ſtanding, and of ſo deplorable a nature, that they cannot be remedied without foreign aids. If ſhe will but ſubmit to accept them, ſhe will ſoon ſee her provinces in both hemiſpheres filled with new inhabitants, who will bring with them a thouſand branches of induſtry. The northern and ſouthern nations, actuated by that paſſion for riches which is the characteriſtic of our age, will flock to the regions that are thrown open to their emulation. The fortune of the public will keep pace with private fortunes. Thoſe of foreigners will become national wealth, if thoſe who have amaſſed them can enjoy them with ſuch ſafety, comfort and diſtinction, as to forget their native country.

IF the Spaniards mean to bring this great work to a ſpeedy iſſue, they muſt not only admit ſtrangers of their own perſuaſion, but encourage every ſect without diſtinction to come and ſettle among them. They have too long thought that liberty of conſcience muſt be founded on the moſt monſtrous impiety, and that toleration was even impolitic, as the fundamental princi-

ple

ple of all ſects was to deteſt one another, and ſooner or later to diſtract the governments where they multiplied. If the heathen had reaſoned in this manner, chriſtianity would never have been eſtabliſhed; at leaſt it is evident that their perſecutions againſt the founders of our religion would need no apology.

When the Spaniards have once got people to work, they will employ them in the moſt advantageous manner. They were grieved to ſee the treaſures of America go into the hands of their rivals and enemies, and imagined the only way to keep ſome at home, would be to revive their own manufactures. Thoſe of their writers upon finance who have inſiſted upon this ſyſtem, appear to us to be in the wrong. As long as the people who are in poſſeſſion of thoſe manufactures which ſerve to ſupply the demands of America, ſhall attend to the preſervation of them, the manufactures, which may be attempted to be eſtabliſhed in other parts, will ſcarce be able to vie with them. They may poſſibly procure the materials and workmanſhip as cheap, but it will be a long time before they can work as quick, and attain to the ſame degree of perfection. Nothing could effect this great change, but ſuch a revolution as would remove the beſt foreign workmen and the moſt ſkilful artiſts to Spain. Till this period arrives, which does not ſeem very near, any attempts that are made, will not turn out ſucceſsfully. A very inſtructive experiment has been made of this point, when the exportation of unwrought goods was prohibited. The prohibition on ſilks only ſerved to leſſen the goodneſs of them, the working of them was neglected, and would have totally fallen, had not government wiſely reſtored trade to its ancient freedom.

We may go further ſtill, and venture to affirm, that though it ſhould be in the power of Spain to procure a ſuperiority in the manufactures reſpecting articles of luxury, ſhe ought not to do it. A tranſient

ſucceſs

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ſucceſs would be attended with irretrievable ruin. Let us for once ſuppoſe that the monarchy can furniſh all the commodities that are wanted in her colonies; the immenſe treaſures this trade will bring in, will all center in home circulation, and the conſequence will be, that money will ſink in value. This plenty of caſh will certainly occaſion a dearneſs of proviſions, and enhance the price of labour. There will be no proportion left between Spain and the neighbouring nations. Theſe, as they will be able to afford their commodities cheaper, will force the Spaniards to take them, becauſe an exorbitant profit will ſurmount every obſtacle. The latter, wanting employment, muſt go and ſeek it elſewhere, and Spain will at once loſe her induſtry and her population.

SINCE then it is impoſſible that the Spaniards ſhould keep the whole produce of the American mines in their own hands, and as they muſt unavoidably ſhare it with the reſt of Europe, their whole policy muſt tend to preſerve the greateſt ſhare, to keep the balance inclining to their ſide, and not to make their own advantages exceſſive, that they may be permanent. This ſuperiority will be ſecured by the practice of the neceſſary arts, and the plenty and goodneſs of their natural productions.

THE Spaniſh miniſtry have been aware of this, but have been miſtaken in thinking that the manufactures were the chief promoters of agriculture. It is an undeniable truth, that the manufactures do promote the culture of lands. They are even neceſſary, wherever the expence of carriage ſtops the circulation and conſumption of the produce, ſo that the cultivator is at a loſs how to diſpoſe of his commodities. But in all other caſes, the cultivator can do without the encouragement of the manufactures. If he can but diſpoſe of his produce, he cares little whether it is for local conſumption,

or

or for trade and exportation, and will go on with his tillage.

SPAIN annually ſells for exportation, in wool, ſilk, oil, wine, iron and kali, to the amount of above thirty millions [l]. Theſe exports, moſt of which cannot be replaced from any ſoil in Europe, are ſuſceptible of great increaſe, and might, probably, be more than doubled. They will ſuffice, independent of the Indies, to pay for all the foreign goods that can be conſumed in the nation. We grant that by thus ſending their unwrought produce abroad, they will increaſe the population, the wealth and the power of other nations; but they will cheriſh a more certain and more beneficial kind of induſtry at home. Their political exiſtence will ſoon claim a relative ſuperiority, and the cultivating nation will have the advantage over the manufacturing nations.

AMERICA will greatly enhance this ſuperiority; and will be beneficial to Spain, both by her gold and ſilver, and by her commodities.

Means which Spain ought to employ for the re-eſtabliſhment of its colonies.

IT appears from the moſt moderate computation, that thoſe valuable colonies have poured into the mother country, from 1492 to 1740, that is, in the compaſs of 248 years, upwards of 9000,000,000 of piaſtres [m], the ſmalleſt part of which has remained to the natural owners; the reſt has ſpread all over Europe; or been carried into Aſia. From the firſt of January 1754 to the laſt day of December 1764, we need not truſt to conjecture. Within that period, Spain has received,

FROM Vera Cruz, in gold, 3,151,354 piaſtres 5 reals [n]; and in ſilver, 85,899,307 piaſtres 2 reals [o].

FROM Lima, in gold, 10,942,846 piaſtres 3 reals [p]; in ſilver, 24,868,745 piaſtres 3 reals [q].

[l] 1,322,500l.
[m] 2,025,000,000l.
[n] 709,034l. 15s. 11d.
[o] 19,327,344l. 2s. 2d.
[p] 2,462,140l. 8s. 9d.
[q] 5,595,467l. 14s. 3d.

FROM

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FROM Buenos Ayres, in gold, 2,142,626 piaſtres 3 reals [r]; in ſilver, 10,326,090 piaſtres 8 reals [s].

FROM Carthagena, in gold, 10,045,188 piaſtres 8 reals [t]; in ſilver, 1,702,174 piaſtres 3 reals [u].

FROM Honduras, in gold, 37,254 piaſtres 9 reals [w]; in ſilver, 677,444 piaſtres 7 reals [x].

FROM the Havannah, in gold, 656,064 piaſtres 3 reals [y]; in ſilver, 2,639,408 piaſtres 2 reals [z].

FROM Caracca, in gold, 52,034 piaſtres 4 reals [a]; in ſilver, 276,002 piaſtres 6 reals [b].

FROM St. Domingo and Porto Rico, in gold, 526 piaſtres 5 reals [c]; in ſilver, 317,521 piaſtres 1 real [d].

FROM Campeachy, Cumana, and Maracaibo, in gold, 91,564 piaſtres 6 reals [e].

THIS makes in all 27,027,896 piaſtres in gold [f], and 126,798,258 piaſtres 8 reals [g] in ſilver. Theſe two ſums put together, amount to a total of 153,826,154 piaſtres 8 reals [h]. This ſum divided by eleven, will ſhew that the returns, upon an average, have been 13,984,185 piaſtres and 3 fourths [i]. To all theſe riches muſt be added thoſe that are not regiſtered to avoid paying duty, which may amount to ſomewhat more than one fourth of what is regiſtered; and it will appear that the mother country annually receives from her colonies about ſeventeen millions of piaſtres, or 19,250,000 livres [k].

THERE would be a poſſibility of increaſing this produce. For this purpoſe the government ſhould ſend

r 482,090 l. 18 s. 9 d.
s 2,323,370 l. 9 s. 8 d.
t 2,260,165 l. 8 s.
u 382,989 l. 4 s. 9 d.
w 8,382 l. 8 s. 3 d.
x 152,425 l. 2 s. 1 d.
y 147,614 l. 9 s. 9 d.
z 593,866 l. 17 s. 2 d.
a 11,707 l. 15 s. 4 d.
b 62,100 l. 12 s. 6 d.
c 118 l. 9 s. 11 d.
d 71,442 l. 5 s. 1 d.
e 20,602 l. 1 s. 6 d.
f 6,081,276 l. 7 s.
g 28,529,608 l. 5 s. 8 d.
h 34,610,884 l. 12 s. 8 d.
i 3,146,441 l. 19 s.
k About 3,904,600 l.

over

over to America ſome perſons ſkilled in metallurgy, and abate ſomething of the terms on which they allow the working of the mines. But this would be only a tranſient advantage, for this plain reaſon, that gold and ſilver are not riches, but only the repreſentatives of them. Theſe ſigns are very durable, as they ought to be to anſwer their deſtination. The more they are multiplied, the more they loſe of their value, becauſe they repreſent fewer things. In proportion as they are grown more common ſince the diſcovery of America, every thing is grown twice, thrice, and four times as dear as before. The produce of the mines has been worth leſs and leſs, and the expence of working them has been continually increaſing. The balance, which inclines more and more to the loſing ſide, may ſo far deſtroy the equipoiſe, that it may be found neceſſary to drop this ſource of wealth. But at all events, it will be adviſeable to render theſe operations more ſimple, and to try every poſſible method to make this labour leſs deſtructive to the human race than it has been hitherto. There is another ſource of proſperity for Spain, which will be ſo far from decaying, that it will daily gather new ſtrength; and that is agriculture.

All nations have found it dangerous to allow the eſtabliſhment of manufactures in their poſſeſſions in America, but they have all encouraged culture by every poſſible means. If Spain adopts ſo rational a principle, ſhe will probably ſave twelve or thirteen millions that are annually expended in the ſingle article of ſpices. It is hardly poſſible that in all that vaſt extent of land and that variety of climates, there ſhould not be ſome ſpots in America fit for the culture of cinnamon, cloves, nutmeg, and other aromatics of Aſia. It is certain that cinnamon grows at Quito, and cultivation might give it the properties it wants.

WHETHER these experiments succeed or not, they may certainly cultivate coffee, which is more and more uſed in Europe; cotton, which our manufactures are frequently in want of; and ſugar, which Spain buys to the amount of above five millions[1] a year, whereas ſhe ought to ſupply all Europe with it.

MANY provinces of Mexico formerly produced excellent ſilks, which were manufactured at Seville. This commodity has been loſt, by the many obſtructions that were thrown in its way; but it might eaſily be revived and improved.

THE Vicuna wool is in great requeſt in all nations. What the fleets bring home, falls far ſhort of the demand. The ſort of ſheep that bears this fine wool, might eaſily be multiplied in the climates that are fitteſt for them.

THE exceſſive dearneſs of cochineal, and the great demand there is for it every where, points out to Spain the neceſſity of multiplying it.

BUT what ought above all things to be encouraged, is the vine and the olive tree, the cultivation of which is not allowed only in one part of Peru. Some ſmall wandering nations might be fixed by this labour. If they were properly diſtributed, they would ſerve to eſtabliſh an intercourſe between the ſeveral colonies, now ſeparated by immenſe and uninhabited regions. The laws, which have no power over men who are at too great a diſtance from each other and from the magiſtrate, could then be enforced. Commerce would not be perpetually interrupted by the impoſſibility of conveying the goods to the place of their deſtination, even at a great expence. In caſe of a war, early notice would be given of the danger, and ſpeedy and effectual aſſiſtance procured. If Spain were hereby deprived of ſome few exports, this trifling loſs would be greatly

[1] 218,750l.

over-

over-balanced by the moſt ſolid advantages. The eaſieſt part of the labour we recommend, would fall to the lot of the natives, who are too indolent, and, perhaps, too weak, to go through harder work. The reſt would be reſerved for the more active robuſt African ſlaves.

THIS foreign aid was thought of in the firſt years after the diſcovery of America, but was ſoon prohibited, from an apprehenſion that the blacks corrupted the Americans, and might excite them to revolt. Las Caſas, who inceſſantly laboured to promote the happineſs of the Indians, obtained a repeal of that law, as thinking it prejudicial to their preſervation. At that period, a favourite obtained an excluſive grant for carrying four thouſand negroes to the Leeward iſlands. He ſold his privilege to the Genoeſe, who made an ill uſe of their monopoly. This odious trade was ſucceſſively in the hands of the Caſtillians, the Portugueſe, the French, and the Engliſh. It is at laſt come back to the Spaniards, who carry it on in the leaſt advantageous way for the intereſt of their country. Their moſt dangerous enemies become their agents, and all their connections are with Britiſh ſubjects.

IF political conſiderations can juſtify a trade ſo repugnant to humanity, Spain ought to carry it on without the aſſiſtance of foreigners; and muſt not be diſcouraged by the want of forts on the coaſt of Africa. This obſtacle may be ſurmounted by receiving directly from the Eaſt Indies the commodities that are fit for thoſe barbarous regions; by giving bounties to encourage the introduction of negroes into the Spaniſh colonies, inſtead of clogging it with duties. Then thoſe countries, which have ſo long been in a drooping condition, will all revive; and their produce, which at preſent does not exceed twenty-ſeven or twenty-eight millions of livres [m] a year, will know no bounds, but ſuch as will be pre-

[m] On an average 1,283,125l.

ſcribed

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ſcribed by the whole conſumption of Spain and of all Europe.

WHEN government has put the working of the mines upon a better footing, and improved the culture of the American provinces, the next thing to be attended to will be, how to convey thoſe riches to the mother country. Experience muſt have taught her that the vigilance of her guarda coſtas, and the fidelity of her commanders are often and eaſily eluded by the contraband trade.

ALL the nations whoſe ſettlements are within reach of the Spaniſh colonies, have always ſought, by fraudulent means, to appropriate to themſelves the treaſures and produce of that indolent nation. The Portugueſe have turned their views towards the river Plata; the Danes, the French, and the Dutch, upon the coaſt of Carthagena and Porto Bello. The ſubjects of Great Britain, who were not unacquainted with all thoſe ways, have found in the ceſſions made to them by the laſt treaty, a ready way of getting a larger ſhare of thoſe rich ſpoils. They have all carried their point, by deceiving or bribing the guarda coſtas; but the Engliſh, ſure of being countenanced by government, have openly and by force, in full peace, carried on an illicit trade in foreign countries, which in their own is puniſhed with death. This kind of trade is ſo openly authorized by their naval force, that there is actually a public contract between the navy and the merchants, whereby the man of war is entitled to five per cent. on the ſale made by the interloper, as a reward for protecting him.

THE governors are ſtill more remiſs in their duty than the guarda coſtas. Though corruption is carried beyond all bounds in Spain, it is ſtill worſe in the Indies. From the viceroys down to the loweſt cuſtom-houſe officers, not one goes to America with the leaſt principle

principle of patriotism about him. They have all bought their places; and are desirous of making the most of them; every one is in haste to make his fortune, the only motive that induced him to leave his country; every one will have an adequate compensation for the danger he has exposed himself to by a change of climate. They must improve every instant of time, as they seldom keep their places longer than three or five years. One would think the court of Madrid, not being able to prevent this extortion, has sought to render it less odious, by making it more general. BOOK VIII.

Every mode of acquiring riches is deemed lawful. The most common is to permit the contraband trade, and even to be concerned in it. It is easy, expeditious and pleasant. In America none oppose it, because it suits every person. If the complaints of some European merchants reach the court, the matter is soon hushed up by some timely gratuities to ministers, confessors, mistresses, or favourites. The delinquent not only escapes punishment, but is rewarded. Nothing is so well established or so generally known as this practice. A Spaniard just returned from America, where he had filled an important post, was complaining to a friend of the injurious reports that were spread concerning the discharge of his trust. *If you are slandered*, says his friend, *you are undone; but if your extortions are not exaggerated, you have nothing to do but to give up part of the plunder, and you will enjoy the remainder peaceably, and even with credit.*

The question is how to eradicate abuses of such a long standing. As long as the management that has given rise to them shall subsist, the smuggler will carry on his trade, and those who are appointed to prevent it will protect him. Spain will never restore good order, but by lowering the duties, and altering her method of intercourse with her colonies.

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THE Spaniards, whose situation will not admit of their manufacturing all they want to supply their American colonies, must appropriate to themselves the labours of every nation in Europe. They must consider themselves as merchants in the midst of manufacturers. They must supply them with materials; pay them a reasonable price for their labour, by making a proper allowance for the additional value their industry has given to the natural productions; and then they must dispose of them to the best advantage to the several consumers.

THESE maxims are too simple to have escaped them; but they have made a wrong application of them. They have always been misled by their wants or their eagerness after gain. They have constantly separated the interests of the crown from those of the people, and, therefore, have found no impropriety in laying the duties too high. None of their ministers seem to have considered, that the riches of the people are the true riches of the state. Possibly, they may have been so blind as to imagine, that the burden of these duties fell upon the original owners of the goods. We can hardly doubt their acting upon this principle, when we see that every intimation for lowering the duties has been rejected, as ruinous to the monarchy. That pernicious spirit of finance, which spoils more and more the trade of Europe, has damped the direct intercourse that was formerly carried on between the mother country and her colonies. The contraband trade has grown brisker in proportion as the duties have been raised; but it will be put an end to, whenever the tariff is settled at a moderate rate, and navigation is freed from those fetters which impede its progress.

THOSE who are of opinion that the common method of fleets and galleons is the best, have been misled by custom, which is so apt to govern the opinions of most men.

men. They were not aware that this tedious method would neceſſarily prove deſtructive. The illicit traders, informed by their emiſſaries of the wants of the colonies, and abundantly provided with all they can be in need of, always arrive before the Spaniſh ſhips, who, finding the ſtorehouſes full, are forced to ſell under prime coſt; or, which is ſtill worſe, cannot ſell at all. If, to prevent this inconvenience, they are ſent out later, this is an additional encouragement to the ſmugglers, who are always alert, and continually pouring in freſh ſupplies.

To prevent this ruinous competition, it has often been propoſed to the Spaniſh government to eſtabliſh trading companies for the commerce of America; but the court of Madrid has always rejected this ſcheme, as a pernicious monopoly, worſe, perhaps, than the toleration of an illicit trade. Though ignorant of the true principles, they were ſenſible that excluſive privileges, always prejudicial even to the moſt active nations, muſt neceſſarily prove ruinous to one, whoſe induſtry is not ſufficiently quickened.

Nothing but an entire freedom in the trade from Cadiz, can put an effectual ſtop to ſmuggling, and give commerce all the ſcope it will admit of. It is the intereſt of Spain, as well as of all other nations that have colonies in America, to carry thither great quantities of the produce and commodities of Europe, and to bring home much of thoſe of America. Theſe meaſures are inſeparably connected. The one is impoſſible without the other, and both are inconſiſtent with reſtraint.

The colonies will find a great advantage in this ſyſtem, which will bring plenty into their ports. A competition among many ſellers, ever was and ever will be an advantage to the buyer.

By this happy change, the mother country will appeaſe the murmurs of ſome perſons, who have grown diſcon-

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tented either becauſe they have been left unprovided with the neceſſaries of life, or have been forced to pay an extravagant price for them. The cheapneſs of all commodities will occaſion the fall of ſome manufactures, which had been ſet up out of mere neceſſity, and which could not ſafely be put down by authority. She will turn the labours of induſtry towards agriculture, which will then become, as it ought to be, the moſt profitable employment. Laſtly, ſhe will double, and, perhaps, treble her navigation, which is now ſo ſlow in its operations, as to endanger public property, and too often expoſe it to fall into the hands of an enemy.

ALL the European nations that are concerned in this trade, will carry it on to better advantage. If the method of carrying it on by a fleet of ſhips, which limits the quantity of goods that may be ſhipped at Cadiz, is more favourable to the few merchants concerned in that buſineſs, a freedom to every one to ſend over as much as he pleaſes, on paying the duties, will reduce the price and increaſe the conſumption of the commodities. More trade will then be carried on in Europe. The profit of each nation will be greater, though that of each private man will be leſs. The firſt of theſe advantages is infinitely preferable to the laſt.

WE are ſenſible that this free trade, which we think abſolutely neceſſary, will no ſooner be opened, but it will be carried to exceſs by a boundleſs emulation. This muſt be expected from the eagerneſs and imprudence of the merchants. Perhaps, it may be beneficial. The mother country will have exported a greater quantity of her produce, and received richer returns. The coloniſts, encouraged by the cheapneſs of the goods, will allow themſelves ſome indulgencies they never could yet afford, will feel new wants, and conſequently will apply themſelves to new labours. Traders, after ſome loſſes, will

will be more circumſpect and more diligent. Even ſuppoſing that too great a competition could ever be a real evil, it could never be a laſting one. To endeavour to prevent it by laws that would be deſtructive of all freedom, would be the means of preventing a happy revolution by a perpetual oppreſſion. As ſoon as Spain is undeceived, the trade of her colonies will no longer be a mere monopoly, her religion mere ſuperſtition, and her government abſolute tyranny. Her good example and a happy rivalſhip, may, poſſibly, induce Portugal, which has hitherto ſhewn very little more prudence than Spain, to adopt the ſame plan of reformation, with regard to the Brazils.

END OF THE EIGHTH BOOK.

BOOK XI.

BOOK IX.

Settlement of the Portuguese in the Brazils. The wars they have sustained there. Produce and riches of that colony.

BOOK IX.

Discovery of the Brazils by the Portuguese.

BRAZIL is an immense continent in South America. It is bounded on the north by the river of the Amazons, on the South by Paraguay, on the west by a long ridge of mountains that divide it from Peru, and on the east by the northern ocean. The extent of the sea coast is supposed to be no less than twelve hundred leagues. The inland parts are too little known to form any estimate of their extent. A succession of hills runs all along from north to south, from whence issue many large rivers, some of which fall into the ocean, and some into the Plata.

If Columbus, in his third voyage in 1499, had turned his course to the south, when he came to the entrance of the Oronooko, he could not have failed of finding the Brazils; but he chose to steer to the north-west, towards the gulph that lies between that river and Florida. The settlements already made there, the gold they produced, and the hopes of finding a way to the East Indies, were so many inducements to pursue that track.

Peter Alvarez Cabral had the honour of making that discovery the following year by chance. That Portuguese admiral was going with a fleet beyond the Cape of Good Hope. To avoid falling in with the calms on the coast of Africa, he kept so far out, that he

he came within ſight of an unknown land lying to weſtward. He was driven thither by ſtreſs of weather, and anchored on the coaſt in the 15th degree of ſouth latitude, at a place which he called Porto-Seguro. He took poſſeſſion of the country, but made no ſettlement in it, and gave it the name of Santa Cruz, which was afterwards changed for that of Brazil, becauſe the Brazil wood was the moſt valuable production of that country to the Europeans, who uſed it in dying.

As this country had been diſcovered in going to the Indies, and it was doubtful whether it was not a part of them, it was at firſt compriſed under the ſame denomination, but was diſtinguiſhed by the appellation of Weſt Indies, becauſe the Portugueſe went to the India by the eaſt, and to the Brazils by the weſt. This name was afterwards extended to all America, and the Americans were very improperly called Indians.

THUS it is that the names of places and things, accidentally given by ignorant men, have always perplexed philoſophers, who have been deſirous of tracing their origin from nature, and not from caſual circumſtances, merely acceſſory, and oftentimes quite foreign to the natural properties of the objects denoted by them. Nothing can be more ſtrange, for inſtance, than to ſee Europe tranſplanted into America, and there regenerated, as it were, in the names and forms of our European cities, and in the laws, manners, and religion of our continent.

THE court of Liſbon ordered a ſurvey to be taken of the harbours, bays, rivers, and coaſts of Brazil, but finding the country afforded neither gold nor ſilver, they deſpiſed it to ſuch a degree, as to ſend thither none but men obnoxious to the laws, and abandoned women.

Account of the firſt coloniſts ſent by Portugal to the Brazils.

TWO ſhips were ſent every year from Portugal, to carry the refuſe of the kingdom to this new world, and to bring home parrots, and woods for the dyers and cabinet makers. Ginger was afterwards added, but

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was ſoon prohibited, as being detrimental to the India trade.

ASIA was then the great object of purſuit. It was the high road to fortune and preferment. The ſplendid exploits of the Portugueſe, and the wealth they brought from India, gave their nation ſuch a ſuperiority in all parts of the world, as every individual wiſhed to partake of. The enthuſiaſm was general. No perſon, indeed, went over voluntarily to America, but thoſe unfortunate men whom the inquiſition had doomed to deſtruction were added to the convicts already tranſported thither.

THE Portugueſe have always entertained the moſt inveterate hatred againſt the Spaniards. Notwithſtanding this national antipathy, which is of ſo long a ſtanding that its origin cannot be traced, and ſo confirmed that it can never be expected to ſubſide, they have borrowed moſt of their maxims from a neighbour, whoſe power they dreaded as much as they deteſted their manners. Whether from a ſimilarity of climate and temper, or from a conformity of circumſtances, they have adopted the very worſt of their inſtitutions. They could not imitate any thing more horrid than the inquiſition.

THIS bloody tribunal, erected in Spain in 1482, by a mixture of policy and fanaticiſm, under the reign of Ferdinand and Iſabella, was no ſooner adopted by John III, than it ſtruck terror into every family. To eſtabliſh its authority, and afterwards to maintain it, no leſs than four or five hundred victims were annually ſacrificed, a tenth of whom were burnt alive, and the reſt baniſhed to Africa or to the Brazils. The fury of this tribunal was particularly exerted againſt thoſe who were ſuſpected of pederaſty: a crime of later date in the kingdom, and not uncommon in thoſe hot climates, where celibacy prevails. It alſo proſecuted ſorcerers, the

the exiſtence of which was believed and dreaded in thoſe times of ignorance, and the number of them multiplied all over Europe, by the credulity and bigotry of a barbarous age. The Mahometans, though greatly decreaſed ſince they had loſt the empire, were alſo perſecuted by the inquiſition; but more eſpecially the Jews, becauſe they were the richeſt. BOOK IX.

It is well known that when the Jews, who had long been confined to a little wretched corner of the earth, were diſperſed by the Romans, many of them took refuge in Portugal. There they multiplied after the Arabs had conquered Spain, were ſuffered to enjoy all the rights of citizens, and were not excluded from public offices, till that country had recovered its independence. This firſt act of oppreſſion did not prevent twenty thouſand Jewiſh families from removing thither, when after the conqueſt of Grenada, the catholic kings compelled them to quit Spain or change their religion. Each family paid twenty livres [n] for the liberty of ſettling in Portugal. Superſtition ſoon induced John II, to aggravate the ſufferings of that perſecuted nation: he demanded of them 20,000 [o] crowns, and afterwards reduced them to a ſtate of ſlavery. In 1496, Emanuel baniſhed all thoſe who refuſed to embrace the Chriſtian religion; thoſe who complied were reſtored to their freedom, and ſoon engroſſed the Aſiatic trade, which was then commencing. The eſtabliſhment of the inquiſition in 1548 proved a check to their activity. Their miſtruſt was increaſed by the frequent confiſcations made by that odious tribunal, and by the taxes which government extorted from them from time to time. They were in hopes of purchaſing ſome tranquillity, by furniſhing Sebaſtian with 250,000 livres [p] for his African expedition; but unfortunately for them, that imprudent monarch came to an untimely end. Philip II, who

[n] 17s. 6d. [o] 2,625l. [p] About 10,940l.

ſoon

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ſoon after extended his dominion over Portugal, enacted that ſuch of his ſubjects as were deſcended from a Jew or a Moor, ſhould be excluded from all eccleſiaſtical or civil employments. This mark of infamy, with which all the new Chriſtians were branded, gave them ſuch a diſguſt for a country where even the fortunes of the richeſt could not ſecure them from meeting with mortifications, that they removed with their wealth to Bordeaux, Antwerp, Hamburgh, and other towns with which they had regular connections. This emigration was the occaſion of a great revolution, ſpread that induſtry into other countries, which till then had centered in Spain and Portugal, and deprived thoſe two nations of the advantages the one derived from the Eaſt, and the other from the Weſt Indies.

BEFORE theſe laſt periods, the Jews who had been ſtripped of their property by the inquiſition, and baniſhed to the Brazils, were yet not totally forſaken. Many found kind relations and faithful friends; others, who were known to be honeſt and induſtrious men, obtained credit from merchants of different nations, whom they had formerly dealt with, who advanced them money. Theſe helps enabled them to cultivate ſugar-canes, which they firſt procured from the iſland of Madeira.

THIS commodity, which till then had been ſo ſcarce as to be confined to medicinal uſes, became an article of luxury. Princes, and the rich and great, were all eager to procure themſelves this new ſpecies of indulgence. This circumſtance proved favourable to Brazil, and enabled it to continue increaſing its culture. The court of Liſbon, notwithſtanding their prejudices, began to be ſenſible that a colony might be beneficial to the mother country, without producing gold or ſilver. They now looked with leſs contempt upon an immenſe region that chance had thrown in their way, and which they had always conſidered as a mere common drain, fit only

only to carry off the filth of the monarchy. This settlement, which had been wholly left to the management of the coloniſts, was now thought to deſerve ſome kind of adminiſtration, and accordingly Thomas de Souſa was ſent thither in 1549, to regulate and ſuperintend it.

THIS able governor began by reducing theſe men, who had always lived in a ſtate of anarchy, into proper ſubordination, and bringing their ſcattered plantations cloſer together; after which, he applied himſelf to acquire ſome lights reſpecting the natives, with whom he knew he muſt be inceſſantly engaged, either in traffic or in war. It was no eaſy matter to accompliſh this.

BRAZIL was full of ſmall nations, ſome of which inhabited the foreſts, and others lived in the plains and along the rivers. Some had ſettled habitations, but many more led a roving life. Moſt of them had no intercourſe with each other. Thoſe that were not divided by inceſſant wars, were ſo by hereditary hatred and jealouſy. Some lived by hunting and fiſhing, others by agriculture. All theſe cauſes muſt have produced a viſible difference in the employments and cuſtoms of theſe ſeveral nations; yet their general character was very ſimilar.

Character and cuſtoms of the Brazilians.

THE Brazilians in general are of the ſize of the Europeans, but not ſo ſtout. They are ſubject to fewer diſtempers, and it is no uncommon thing among them to live upwards of a hundred years. Formerly they wore no clothing at all, but ſince our invaſion, they commonly cover the middle part of their bodies. The ornaments of the women differ from thoſe of the men, for they wear their hair extremely long, whereas the men cut theirs quite ſhort; the women wear bracelets of bones of a beautiful white, the men necklaces of the ſame; the women paint their faces, and the men their bodies.

THOUGH

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THOUGH the language of the Topinambous is generally ſpoken all along the ſea coaſts, yet every nation on that vaſt continent has its own peculiar idiom. Some of theſe languages are ſaid to be emphatical, but they are all very much confined; not one of them has any words to expreſs abſtract and univerſal ideas. This penury of language, which is common to all the nations of South America, is a convincing proof of the little progreſs the human underſtanding has made in thoſe parts. The analogy of words in the ſeveral languages, ſhews that the tranſmigrations of thoſe ſavages have been frequent. Poſſibly, by comparing their language with thoſe of Africa, of the Eaſt Indies and of Europe, the origin of the Americans may one day be traced, after the long and fruitleſs ſearch, which has hitherto employed the labours of ſo many learned men.

IN ancient times the food of the Brazilians was very ſimple. It might have been expected to have admitted of greater variety when they came to be acquainted with our domeſtic animals; yet thoſe who live by the ſea ſide ſtill continue to feed upon the ſhell-fiſh they pick up on the ſhore. Along the rivers, they always live by fiſhing, and in the foreſts by hunting. When theſe precarious proviſions fail, they feed upon roots, that either grow ſpontaneouſly, or require but little culture.

THESE ſavages are averſe from all labour, and ſpend their time in idleneſs, eating, and dancing. Their ſongs are but one tedious uniform tone, without any modulations, and commonly turn upon their loves or their warlike actions.

THEIR amuſements are not interrupted by the worſhip of a ſupreme being, for they know of none; nor is their tranquillity diſturbed by the dread of a future ſtate, of which they have no notion. However, they have their magicians, who, by ſtrange contortions, ſo far work upon the credulity of the people as to throw them into

into violent convulsions. The end of these men is to be murdered, if their impostures are detected, and this is some restraint upon the spirit of lying.

These atheists are equally strangers to all notions of subordination and submission, which among ourselves are originally derived from the idea of a supreme being. They cannot conceive that any man can have the impudence to command, much less that any one can be such a fool as to obey. They only bestow most of their esteem upon the man that has murdered the greatest number of his enemies.

The Brazilians all follow their own inclinations, and like most other savages, shew no particular attachment to their native place. The love of our country, which is a ruling passion in civilized states; which in good governments rises to enthusiasm, and in bad ones grows habitual; which for whole centuries together perpetuates in every nation its distinctive disposition, customs and taste: this love of our country is but a factitious sentiment, arising from society, but unknown in the state of nature. The moral life of a savage is the very reverse of that of the social man. The latter enjoys the gifts of nature only in his infancy. As his strength increases and his understanding opens, he overlooks the present, and is wholly intent upon the future. Thus the age of passions and pleasures, that precious time which nature intended for enjoyment, is spent in speculation and disappointment. The man denies himself what he wishes for, laments the indulgencies he has allowed himself, and is alike tormented by his denials and gratifications. Incessantly deploring his liberty which he has always sacrificed, he looks back wishfully on his earliest years, when a series of new objects entertained him with a constant sense of curiosity and hope. He fondly recollects the scene of his infant days; the remembrance of his innocent delights endears to him the image of his cradle, and forcibly attracts him to his native spot:

whereas

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whereas the ſavage, who in every period of his life allows himſelf an unreſtrained enjoyment of all the pleaſures and all the good things it affords, without ever ſacrificing them to the proſpect of a leſs laborious old age, finds in all places alike, objects analogous to his deſires, and feels that the ſource of his pleaſures is in himſelf, and that every place is his home.

THOUGH the tranquillity of the Brazilians is not the reſult of any laws, diſſenſions are ſeldom heard of in their little ſocieties. If drunkenneſs, or ſome unlucky incident happens to breed a quarrel, and ſome life is loſt, the murderer is inſtantly delivered up to the relations of the deceaſed, who put him to death; then both the families meet, and their reconciliation is ſealed by a joyous and noiſy feaſt.

EVERY Brazilian takes as many wives as he pleaſes, or as many as he can get, and puts them away when he is tired of them. When they violate their marriage vow, they are puniſhed with death, and nobody laughs at the huſband for the injury his wife has done him. When the women lie in, they keep their bed but a day or two; then hanging the child to her neck in a cotton ſcarf, the mother attends her buſineſs as uſualy and receives no injury from it.

TRAVELLERS meet with great civilities in the Brazils. Wherever they come, they are ſurrounded with women, who waſh their feet, and welcome them with the moſt obliging expreſſions. They ſpare nothing for their reception; but it would be an unpardonable affront, were they to leave the family where they were firſt entertained, in hopes of better accommodation in another. This hoſpitality is one of the ſtrongeſt indications that man was intended for ſociety. This is the moſt valuable diſpoſition of the ſavage nations; and the point where the improvements of policy, and of all ſocial inſtitutions ought, perhaps, to reſt.

THE

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THE Brazilians aſſiſt one another in ſickneſs with more than brotherly kindneſs and cordiality. If one of them receives a wound, his neighbour immediately comes and ſucks it, and performs all the offices of humanity with the ſame readineſs. They make uſe of the healing plants that grow in their foreſts; but they truſt more to abſtinence than to medicines, and never allow their ſick to taſte any food.

FAR from ſhewing that indifference or weakneſs that makes us ſhun the dead, that makes us unwilling to ſpeak of them, or to ſtay in the places that might recall their image; theſe ſavages behold their dead with tender emotions, recount their exploits with complacency, and celebrate their virtues with tranſport. They are buried upright in a round grave; and if the deceaſed was the head of a family, his plumes, his necklaces and his weapons are interred with him. When a clan removes to another place, which often happens merely for the ſake of changing, every family ſets up ſome remarkable ſtones over the graves of their moſt reſpectable relations, and they never approach thoſe monuments of grief without breaking out into dreadful outcries, not unlike the ſhouts with which they rend the air when they are going to battle.

INTEREST or ambition have never prompted the Brazilians to war. The deſire of avenging their relations or friends, has always been the motive of their moſt ſanguinary conteſts. Their chiefs, or rather their orators, are old men, who determine the commencement of hoſtilities, give the ſignal for marching, and are inceſſantly engaged during the march, in venting expreſſions of implacable hatred. Sometimes even the march of the army is ſuſpended to liſten to theſe paſſionate orations, that laſt for many hours. This may account for thoſe long ſpeeches we meet with in Homer, and in the Roman hiſtorians; but in thoſe days, the

noiſe

noise of the artillery did not drown the voices of the generals.

THE combatants are armed with a club of ebony, six feet long, one foot broad, and an inch thick. Their bows and arrows are of the same wood. Their instruments of martial musick are flutes made of the bones of their enemies. They are full as well calculated to inspire courage, as our drums, which stun us out of our sense of danger, and as our trumpets, which give the signal and, perhaps, the fear of death. Their generals are the soldiers who have fought best in former wars.

WHEN the aggressor arrives on the enemy's frontiers, the women who carry the provisions halt, while the warriors advance through the woods. The attack is never made openly. They conceal themselves at some distance from the habitations to fall upon their enemies unawares. When it is dark, they set fire to the huts, and take advantage of the confusion to glut their boundless rage. Those who cannot avoid coming to open fight, divide into platoons and lie in ambush. If they are discovered and routed by superior forces, they hide themselves in the deepest recesses of the woods. Their courage seldom consists in standing their ground.

THE ambition of the Brazilians is to make a great many prisoners. These are brought home to the conqueror's village, where they are slain and eaten. The feast lasts a long time, and during the continuance of it, the old men exhort the young to become intrepid warriors, that they may extend the glory of their nations, and often procure themselves such an honourable repast. This inclination for human flesh is never so prevalent as to induce the Brazilians to devour such of their enemies as have fallen in battle; they only eat those who have been taken alive, and afterwards put to death with certain ceremonies; as if revenge alone could give a relish for that food which humanity abhors.

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The treatment of prisoners of war has varied according to the degree of perfection human reason has gradually acquired. The most civilized nations ransom them, exchange or restore them at the conclusion of the war. Nations that are not yet completely civilized, claim them as their property, and make them slaves. The common savages murder them without putting them to torture. The most savage of all, torture, kill, and eat them. This is their law of nations.

There anthropophagy, however, is sometimes a kind of malady or taste, that seizes some individuals even amongst the mildest savages. These murderers, or madmen, withdraw from their horde, and lurk alone in some corner of a forest, where they lie in wait for the passenger, as huntsmen or savages do for game, drag him in, kill and devour him.

When this disposition is not a malady, the tasting of human flesh in the sacrifices made of the prisoners, and a habit of indolence, may be reckoned among the causes of this private anthropophagy. The civilized man lives by labour, and the savage by hunting. Amongst us, stealing is the readiest and easiest way of acquiring. Amongst the savages, killing a man, and eating him if his flesh is good, is the easiest way of hunting. A man is sooner killed than an animal. Amongst us, an indolent man wants money, and will not take the pains to earn it. Amongst the savages, an indolent man wants to eat, and will not take the pains to go a hunting; and the same vice leads both to the same crime; so that in all countries laziness is a consumer of men; and in this view, anthropophagy is still more common in society than in the wilds of America. If ever we have an opportunity of examining the savages that are troubled with this distemper, we shall find them weak, cowardly, lazy, and addicted to the same vices as our murderers and vagrants.

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We know that if opulence is the mother of vice, poverty is the mother of crimes; and this principle holds as true in the woods as in cities. The opulence of a ſavage is plenty of game; his poverty is a ſcarcity of it. Now, the crimes that poverty tempts men to commit are theft and murder. The civilized man robs and murders to live; the ſavage kills to eat.

When this diſpoſition is a malady, the phyſician will inform us that a ſavage may be affected with canine hunger, as well as another man. If he is weak, and has not ſtrength to go through the fatigue of procuring a ſufficiency to ſatisfy his hunger, what will he do? He will kill his neighbour and eat him. He is able to hunt but for a certain time, and he wants to eat continually.

There are numberleſs diſorders and natural defects, which are attended with no ill conſequence, or have quite contrary effects in ſociety, but which muſt unavoidably conduce to anthropophagy in a ſavage, whoſe whole property conſiſts in his life.

All the moral defects which lead the ſocial man to theft, muſt lead the ſavage to the ſame: now, the only theft a ſavage is tempted to commit, is on the life of a ſavage whoſe fleſh is fit to eat.

In the Brazils, the heads of the dead are carefully preſerved, and ſhewn to all ſtrangers as monuments of valour and victory. The heroes of thoſe ſavage nations bear their exploits imprinted on their limbs, by inciſions which command reſpect from their countrymen. There are no gold or ſilken ornaments that can be ſtripped off by an enemy. They account it an honour to have been diſfigured in battle. In thoſe regions, a man is reſpected the more from being covered with blood.

Such manners did not diſpoſe the Brazilians to ſubmit to the yoke which the Portugueſe wanted to impoſe upon them on their firſt arrival. At firſt, they only declined

clined all intercourse with these strangers; but finding they were pursued in order to be made slaves, and to be employed in the labours of the field, they murdered and devoured all the Europeans they could lay hands on. The friends and relations of the captive savages made frequent attempts to rescue them, and were sometimes successful. This brought an increase of enemies against the Portuguese, who were forced to fight with one hand, whilst they were building with the other.

Success of the Portuguese in the Brazils.

SOUSA did not bring forces sufficient to put matters upon a better footing. Indeed, by building San Salvador, he gave a center to the colony, but the honour of settling, extending, and making it really useful to the mother country, was reserved to the Jesuits who attended him. Those intrepid men, who have always been prompted by religion and ambition to undertake great things, dispersed themselves amongst the Indians. Such of these missionaries as were murdered from hatred to the Portuguese name, were immediately replaced by others, who were inspired with none but sentiments of peace and charity. This magnanimity confounded the barbarians, who had no idea of forgiveness. By degrees they placed more confidence in men who seemed to court them only to make them happy. Their fondness for the missionaries grew to a passion. When a Jesuit was expected in one of their nations, the young people flocked to meet him, concealing themselves in the woods along the road. When he drew near, they sallied forth, played upon their fifes, beat their drums, danced, and made the air resound with joyful songs; and in short, omitted nothing that could express their satisfaction. At the entrance of the village the old men and chief inhabitants were assembled, who expressed as much joy, but with more sedateness. A little further on, stood the women and young girls, in a respectful posture suitable to their sex. Then they all joined, and conducted their father in

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triumph to the place where they were to meet. There he inſtructed them in the fundamental doctrines of religion; exhorted them to a regularity of manners, to a love of juſtice, to brotherly charity, and to an abhorrence for human blood; after which he baptized them.

As theſe miſſionaries were too few to do every thing themſelves, they frequently deputed ſome of the moſt ſenſible Indians in their ſtead. Theſe men, proud of ſo glorious an office, diſtributed hatchets, knives, and looking glaſſes amongſt the ſavages they met with, and repreſented the Portugueſe as a harmleſs, humane and good natured people. They never returned from their excurſions but they brought away ſome of the Braziliens, who followed them from motives of curioſity. When thoſe barbarians had once ſeen the Jeſuits, they could not bear to part from them. When they returned home, it was to invite their families and friends to come and ſhare their happineſs, and to ſhew the preſents they had received.

If any one ſhould doubt theſe happy effects of kindneſs and humanity over ſavage nations, let him but compare the progreſs the Jeſuits have made, in a very ſhort time, in South America, with what the arms and the ſhipping of Spain and Portugal have not been able to compaſs in the ſpace of two centuries. Whilſt thouſands of ſoldiers were turning two great and civilized empires into deſerts inhabited by roving ſavages, a few miſſionaries have changed little wandering clans into ſeveral great and civilized nations. If theſe active and courageous men had been leſs infected with the ſpirit of the church of Rome; if, formed into a ſociety in the moſt intriguing and corrupt court in Europe, they had not introduced themſelves into other courts to influence all political events; if the chiefs of the order had not made an ill uſe of the very virtues of their members: the old and new world would ſtill enjoy the labours of a ſet of men, who might

have

have been made useful, by hindering them from being necessary; and the eighteenth century would not have had cause to blush for the enormities that have attended their suppression; nor would the capital of the world be now plunging her rapacious hands into the bowels of her martyrs and apostles.

The Brazilians had too much cause to hate the Europeans, not to mistrust their kindness; but their diffidence was in some measure removed by a signal act of justice.

The Portuguese had formed the settlement of St. Vincent on the sea coast, in the 24th degree of south latitude. There they traded peaceably with the Cariges, the gentlest and most civilized nation in all the Brazils. The benefit they reaped from this connection could not prevent their seizing upon seventy men to make slaves of them. The man who had committed the offence was condemned to carry the prisoners back to the place whence he had taken them, and to make the proper excuses for so heinous an insult. Two Jesuits who were appointed to dispose the Indians to accept that satisfaction, which would never have been decreed but at their desire, gave notice of it to Farancaha, the most respectable man of his nation. He came out to meet them, and embracing them with tears of joy: "My "fathers, said he, we consent to forget all that is past, "and to enter into a fresh alliance with the Portuguese; "but let them for the future be more moderate, and more "observant of the rights of nations. Our attachment "entitles us at least to equity. We are called barbari-"ans, yet we respect justice and our friends." The missionaries having promised that for the future their nation would more religiously observe the laws of peace and unity, Farancaha proceeded thus; "If you doubt "the honesty of the Cariges, I will give you a proof "of it. I have a nephew whom I tenderly love; he "is

"is the hope of my family, and his mother's favourite; "she would die with grief if she were to lose her son. "Yet you shall have him as a hostage. Take him "along with you, cultivate his young mind, take care "of his education, and instruct him in your religion. "Let his manners be gentle, and pure. I hope when "you come again, you will instruct me also, and "enlighten my mind." Many of the Cariges followed his example, and sent their children to St. Vincent for education. The Jesuits were too artful not to take great advantage of that event; but it does not appear that they ever had any intention to deceive the Indians by inculcating submission. Avarice had not yet possessed the minds of these missionaries; and they had then such interest at court, as to command respect in the colony, so that their new converts were not to be pitied.

This time of tranquillity was improved to the advancement of the sugar-trade, by means of the slaves procured from Africa. That vast region was no sooner discovered and subdued by the Portuguese, but they brought away a great number of blacks, to employ them in domestic services and in clearing the grounds. This custom, one of those which have most contributed to corrupt the national temper, and which was first practised in the mother country, was introduced much later in the plantations abroad, where it did not commence till about the year 1530. The negroes multiplied prodigiously at the time we are speaking of. The natives did not, indeed, share their labours, but they did not obstruct them, as they did at first: they rather encouraged them, by devoting themselves to less laborious employments, and by furnishing the colony with some sustenance. This harmony was productive of great advantages.

Enterprizes of the French in the Brazils.

The prosperity of the colony, which was visible in all the markets in Europe, excited the envy of the French. They attempted to make settlements successfully

ſively at Rio-Janeiro, Rio Grande, Paraiba and the iſland of Marignan. Their levity would not ſuffer them to wait the ſlow progreſs of new undertakings; and merely from inconſtancy and impatience, they gave up proſpects that were ſufficient to encourage any but ſuch volatile ſpirits, that are as ſoon diſheartened as they are ready to undertake. The only valuable monument we have of their fruitleſs incurſions is a dialogue that ſhews the natural good ſenſe of the ſavages, and the more ſo as it is written with that ſimplicity of ſtile which diſtinguiſhed the French language two hundred years ago.

"THE Brazilians, ſays Lery, one of the interlo-"cutors, wondering to ſee the French take ſo much "pains to go and fetch their wood, there was once one "of their old men who aſked me this queſtion. What "is the meaning that you Frenchmen come ſo far to "fetch wood to warm yourſelves? Is there none in "your land? To which having anſwered yes, and a "great deal too, but not ſuch as theirs, which we did "not burn as he thought; But as they themſelves uſed "it to dye their ſtrings and their feathers, ſo our peo-"ple fetched it for dying. He replied; well, but do "you want ſo much? Yes, ſaid I; for in our coun-"try there are ſome merchants who have more rugs "and ſcarlet cloths than you ever ſaw in this coun-"try; one of theſe will buy ſeveral ſhip loads of this "wood. Ha hah! ſays the ſavage, thou telleſt me "wonders. Then pauſing upon what I had been tel-"ling him, he ſaid, But this very rich man thou talkeſt "of, is he never to die? Yes, yes, ſaid I, as well as "another. Upon which, as they are great talkers, he "aſked me again; So then when he is dead, to whom "does all the wealth he leaves belong? It goes, ſaid I, "to his children, or if he has none, to his brothers, "ſiſters, or next of kin. Truly, ſays the old man,

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"now I see that you Frenchmen are great fools; for, "must you work so hard and croſs the ſea to heap up "riches for them that come after you, as if the earth "that has fed you was not ſufficient to feed them alſo? "We have children and relations whom we love, as "you do, but as we are ſure that after our death, "the earth that has fed us will feed them, truly we "truſt to that."

Thus philoſophy, ſo natural to ſavages who have no ambition, but unknown to civiliſed nations, who have experienced all the miſchiefs of luxury and avarice, made no great impreſſion on the French. They could not withſtand the acceptation of riches, which all the maritime nations in Europe thirſted after at that time. The Dutch, who were become republicans by chance, and merchants from neceſſity, were more perſevering and more ſucceſsful in their attempts on the Brazils. They had only as ſmall a nation as their own to deal with, who, like themſelves were ſoon to ſhake off the Spaniſh yoke, but with this difference, that they ſtill retained that of royalty.

The Dutch ſettle in the Brazils, and after having derived conſiderable advantages from their ſituation, are driven from it.

All hiſtories are full of the acts of tyranny and cruelty that provoked the low countries to riſe againſt Philip II. The richeſt provinces remained or returned under the yoke of a tyrannical government, whilſt the pooreſt, that were in a manner under water, found reaſons, by more than human efforts, to ſecure their independence. When their liberty was firmly eſtabliſhed, they went and attacked their enemy upon the remoteſt ſeas, on the Indus, on the Ganges, and as far as the Moluccas, which made a part of the Spaniſh dominions, ſince Portugal had been included in the poſſeſſions of Spain. The truce of 1609 allowed time for this enterpriſing and fortunate republic to ripen her new projects. They broke out in 1621, by the creation of a Weſt India Company, which promiſed the ſame ſucceſs in Africa

and Amboina, that were both comprised in the charter, as the East India company had enjoyed in Asia.

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The stock of the new society was twelve millions *; Holland furnished four ninths, Zealand two, the Maese and West Friesland each one, and Friesland and Groningen together one ninth. The general meeting was to be held at Amsterdam six years successively, and then two years at Middelburg. The West India Company, who were displeased that their privilege was not so extensive as that of the East India Company, were in no haste to begin their operations; but the states put them upon a level, and then they made an attack upon the Brazils.

They had taken care to procure the necessary informations. Some Dutch ships had ventured thither, in defiance of the law that forbad the admittance of any strangers. As they greatly undersold the mother country, which is the constant practice of that nation, they met with a kind reception. At their return they reported, that the country was in a kind of anarchy; that foreign dominion had stifled in the people the love of their country; that self-interest had corrupted their minds; that the soldiers were turned merchants; that they had forgotten the very elements of war, and that whoever should appear there with competent forces, would infallibly effect the conquest of that wealthy region.

The company committed that undertaking to Jacob Willekins in 1624. He went directly to the capital. San Salvador surrendered at sight of the Dutch fleet, and the rest of the province, which was the largest, richest and most populous of the colony, made little more resistance.

This news gave more pleasure than pain to the Spanish council. The ministry were comforted for the triumph of their most inveterate enemies by the vexation this stroke must give to the Portuguese. Ever since they had been seeking to oppress that unfortunate nation, they

* 525,000 l.

had

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had met with a resistance that hurt their pride, and checked their despotism. An event that might make Portugal less haughty and more tractable, appeared to them a lucky circumstance. They thought themselves at the eve of accomplishing their purpose, and were fully determined to do nothing that might protract the completion of it.

Though Philip harboured these base sentiments, he thought the majesty of the throne required of him some outward demonstrations of decency. Accordingly he wrote to the Portuguese of the first rank, exhorting them to make such generous efforts as the present exigencies required. This they were very ready to do. Self interest, patriotism, the desire of damping the joy of their tyrants, all concurred to quicken their alacrity. The monied men lavished their treasures; others raised troops; all were eager to enter into the service. In three months time they fitted out twenty six ships, which sailed in the beginning of the year 1626, in company with those from Spain, which the tardiness and policy of that nation had made them wait for, much too long.

The archbishop of San Salvador, Michael de Texeira, had prepared matters so as to facilitate their success. That martial prelate, at the head of 1500 men, had presently stopped the progress of the enemy. He had insulted, harrassed, beaten, driven, inclosed and blocked them up in the town. The Dutch, reduced by hunger, fatigue and want, compelled the governor to surrender to the troops which the fleet had landed on their arrival, and they were all carried to Europe.

The success of the company by sea, made them amends for this loss. Their ships never came into port but loaded with the spoils of the Spaniards and Portuguese. They were so prosperous as to give umbrage even to the powers most interested in the welfare of Holland. The ocean was covered with their fleets. Their admirals endeavoured by useful exploits to preserve

their

their confidence. The ſubaltern officers ſtrove to riſe by ſeconding the valour and ſkill of their commanders. The ſoldiers and ſailors fought with unparalleled eagerneſs, and nothing could diſcourage thoſe reſolute and intrepid men. The fatigues of the ſea, ſickneſs, and repeated engagements, all ſeemed to inure them to war, and to increaſe their emulation. The company kept up this ſpirit by frequent rewards. Excluſive of their pay, they were allowed to carry on a private trade, which was a great encouragement, and procured a conſtant ſupply of men. By this wiſe regulation, their intereſt was ſo connected with that of their employers, that they wanted to be always in action. They never ſtruck to the enemy, nor ever failed to attack their ſhips with that ſkill, that intrepidity, and that perſeverance, which muſt enſure victory. In the compaſs of thirteen years, the company fitted out eight hundred ſhips, which coſt ninety millions.* They took five hundred and forty-five of the enemy's ſhips, which, with the goods on board, ſold for 180,000,000 livres.† The dividend never was under twenty per cent, and often roſe to fifty. This proſperity, which aroſe wholly from war, put the company in a condition to make a ſecond attack upon the Brazils.

THEIR admiral, Henry Lonk, arrived in the beginning of the year 1630, with forty-ſix men of war, on the coaſt of Fernambucca, one of the largeſt diſtricts in thoſe parts, and the beſt fortified. He reduced it after ſeveral obſtinate engagements, in which he was always victorious. The troops he left behind, ſubdued thoſe of Tamaraca, Paraiba and Rio Grande, in the years 1633, 1634, and 1635. They furniſhed yearly a large quantity of ſugar, a great deal of logwood, and other commodities, as did likewiſe Fernambucca.

THE company were ſo elated with the acquiſition of this wealth, which flowed to Amſterdam inſtead of

* 3,937,500 l. † 7,875,000 l.

Liſbon,

1624 Lifbon, that they determined to conquer all the Brazils, and ſent Maurice of Naſſau for that purpoſe. That general reached the place of his deſtination on the firſt days of 1627. He found the ſoldiers well diſciplined, the commanders experienced men, and all ſhewed ſo much readineſs to engage, that he directly took the field. He was ſucceſſively oppoſed by Albuquerque, Banjola, Lewis Rocca de Borgia, and the Brazilian Cameron, the idol of his people, paſſionately fond of the Portugueſe, brave, active, cunning, and who wanted nothing to be a general, but to have learnt the art of war under good maſters. All theſe chiefs exerted their utmoſt efforts to defend the poſſeſſions that were under their protection; but their endeavours proved ineffectual. The Dutch ſeized upon the diſtricts of Siara, Sereginpe, and almoſt all Bahia. Seven of the fourteen provinces which compoſed the colony, had acknowledged their dominion, and they flattered themſelves that one or two campaigns would make them maſters of all that remained in the enemy's hands in that part of America; when they were ſuddenly ſtopped in the midſt of their career by a revolution which all Europe wiſhed for, but had no room to expect.

THE Portugueſe had never enjoyed happy times ſince they had ſubmitted to the Spaniſh yoke. Philip II. an avaricious, cruel, deſpotic, crafty and falſe prince, had endeavoured to vilify them; but concealed his intentions under honourable pretences. His ſon, who too cloſely followed his maxims, and thought it better to reign over a ruined nation than to be indebted to the good-will of the people for their ſubmiſſion, had ſuffered them to be ſtripped of a multitude of conqueſts, which had been a ſource of riches, glory and power, and had coſt them torrents of blood. The ſucceſſor of that weak prince, ſtill more fooliſh than his father, openly and contemptuouſly attacked their adminiſtration, their privileges, their

their manners, and all that was dearest to them. At the instigation of Olivarez, he wanted to provoke them to revolt, that he might have a right to strip them.



These repeated outrages united all the Portuguese, whom Spain had been labouring to divide. A conspiracy, that had been brooding for three years with incredible secrecy, broke out on the 3d of December 1640. Philip IV. was ignominiously banished, and the Duke of Braganza was placed on the throne of his ancestors. The example of the capital was followed by the whole kingdom, and by all the remaining settlements in Asia, Africa, and America. This great revolution cost no blood but that of Michael Vasconcellos, the base and vile instrument of tyranny.

The new king united his interests and his resentments with those of the English, the French, and all the enemies of Spain. On the 23d of June 1641, he concluded an offensive and defensive alliance with the United Provinces for Europe, and a ten years truce for the East and West Indies. Nassau was immediately recalled with most of the troops, and the government of the Dutch possessions in Brazil was given to Hamel, a merchant of Amsterdam; to Bassis, a goldsmith of Harlem; and to Bullestraat, a carpenter of Middelburg. This council was to have the decision of all matters, which were supposed for the future to relate only to the concerns of a brisk and profitable trade.

The new administrators readily entered into the oeconomical views of the company. Their own inclination led them beyond the mark. They suffered the fortifications to decay, which had been too much neglected before; and sold arms and ammunition to their rivals, who paid a high price for them; and allowed all the soldiers who desired it to return to Europe. Their whole ambition was to save expences, and increase the profits of their constituents; and the applause which

their

their rich cargoes procured them from a greedy and short-sighted direction, encouraged them to go on. To enhance the profits of the company, they began to oppress those Portuguese, whose large property, or some other circumstance, had induced them to remain under their protection. Tyranny made a quick progress, and was at last carried to such excess, as would justify any resolutions, and inspire the most violent ones.

The victims wasted no time in complaints. The boldest joined in 1645 to take their revenge: their scheme was, to murder all the Dutch who had any share in the government, at an entertainment in the midst of the capital of Fernambucca, and then to fall upon the people, who, suspecting no danger, would be unprepared. The plot was discovered, but the conspirators had time to get out of the town, and to fly to a place of safety.

Their chief was a Portuguese of obscure birth, called Juan Fernandez de Viera. From a common servant he had risen to be a commission trader, and then a merchant. His abilities had enabled him to acquire a large fortune; his honesty had gained him universal confidence; and his generosity had made him an infinite number of friends, who were inviolably attached to his interest. The late disappointment did not break his high spirit. Without the consent or support of government, he dared to raise the standard of war.

His name, his virtues and his projects assembled the Brazilians, the Portuguese soldiers, and even the colonists about him. He inspired them with his confidence, his activity and his courage. They attended him in battle, crowded about his person, and were determined to conquer or die with him. He triumphed, but did not allow himself to slumber over his victories, or give the enemy time to recover. Some checks he met with in the course of his prosperities, only served to display the firmness of his soul, the extent of his genius, and the

elevation

elevation of his mind. He put on a threatning aspect even after a misfortune, and appeared still more formidable by his perseverance than by his intrepidity. He spread such terror, that his enemies durst no longer keep the field. At this period of his glory, Viera received orders to stop.

SINCE the truce, the Dutch had seized upon some places in Africa and Asia, which they obstinately refused to restore. The court of Lisbon, intent upon greater concerns, had not been at leisure to do themselves justice; but their inaction had not lessened their resentment. In this disposition, they had rejoiced to see the republic attacked in Brazil; and had even secretly favoured them who had begun the hostilities. As they constantly disowned these proceedings, and loudly declared, both in Europe and America, that they would one day punish the authors of the disturbances, the company imagined they would soon subside; but their avarice, which had been too long amused with false and frivolous protestations, was roused at last. John IV. being informed that considerable armaments were making in Holland, and fearing to be drawn into a war which he wished to avoid, exerted himself in earnest to put an end to the hostilities in the Brazils.

VIERA, who had nothing to trust to for the completion of his work, but his money, his interest, and his abilities, did not even deliberate whether he should obey. "If the king, said he, did but know his own "interest, our zeal and our success; far from disarm-"ing us, he would encourage us to pursue our under-"taking, and would support us with all his power." Then, lest the ardour of his companions should cool, he determined to hasten his operations; and they continued to be crowned with such success, that with the help of Baretto, Vidal, and some other Portuguese, who were able and willing to serve their country, he completed the ruin of the Dutch. The few who escaped the sword

and

BOOK IV.

abſolutely evacuated Brazil in conſequence of a capitulation ſigned the 28th of January 1654.

This peace concluded three months after between England and the United Provinces, ſeemed to put the latter in a condition to recover a valuable poſſeſſion, which they had loſt by an ill-judged parſimony and unlucky incidents; but both the republic and the company fruſtrated the expectation of their friends; and the treaty which put an end to the diviſions between the two powers in 1661, ſecured to Portugal the ſole poſſeſſion of all the Brazils, in conſideration of eight millions[t] which that crown engaged to pay to the United Provinces, either in money or goods.

Thus did the Dutch part with a conqueſt that might have become the richeſt of all the European colonies, and would have made the republic more conſiderable than their own country ever can. But, in order to keep it, the government ought to have undertaken the adminiſtration and defence of it; and to make it proſper, it ſhould have enjoyed full liberty. With theſe precautions, Brazil would have been preſerved, and would have enriched the nation, inſtead of ruining the company. Unfortunately they did not yet know that the only way to make lands uſeful in America is to clear them, and that the only way to do this ſucceſsfully, is to open a free trade to all the coloniſts under the protection of government.

No ſooner did the Portugueſe find themſelves entirely freed from the Dutch, but they thought of putting the colony into better order than ever it was, even before the war. The firſt thing they did towards accompliſhing this end, was to regulate the condition of the Brazilians who had either ſubmitted, or ſhould ſubmit to them. Upon a cloſer examination they found, that they had been ſlandered, when they were repreſented as barbarians who could bear no reſtraint. The firſt impreſſion that

[t] 350,000l.

the

the fight of Europeans made upon ſmall nations, who were divided by continual wars, was a ſenſe of diſtruſt; and as it is natural for ſuſpected perſons to be afraid of thoſe who ſuſpect them, they thought themſelves at liberty to treat them as enemies, to oppreſs them, and to put them in irons. This uſage at firſt rendered them fierce. The difficulty of underſtanding one another, gave frequent occaſions for animoſity on both ſides. If the natives afterwards renewed their hoſtilities, it was commonly becauſe they were provoked to it by the imprudence, the rapaciouſneſs, the diſhoneſty, and the ill uſage of that reſtleſs and ambitious power that was come to diſturb the peace of that part of America. On ſome occaſions, they might be charged with inadvertency, in too haſtily taking up arms from the apprehenſions of imaginary danger, but never with injuſtice or double dealing. They were always found true to their promiſes, to the faith of treaties, and to the ſacred rights of hoſpitality.

BEING at laſt ſatisfied as to their diſpoſition, it was thought expedient to collect them into villages along the coaſt, or not far up the country. By this means, a communication was ſecured to the Portugueſe ſettlements, and they kept off the ſavages who infeſted the intermediate parts with their depredations. The miſſionaries, who were moſtly Jeſuits, were intruſted with the temporal and ſpiritual government of theſe new communities. The beſt inquiries that could be made, in a country where all is myſterious, have informed us that thoſe eccleſiaſtics were mere tyrants. Thoſe who had retained ſome principles of moderation and humanity, whether from indolence or from fanaticiſm, kept thoſe little ſocieties in a ſtate of perpetual infancy, and neither improved their underſtanding, nor in ſome meaſure their induſtry.

Possibly, had they been ever ſo willing, they would have found it difficult to have been more ſerviceable to them. Some kinds of government are faulty, both by the miſchief they do, and by the good they prevent. A wrong adminiſtration corrupts all the ſeeds of virtue and proſperity. The court of Liſbon exempted the Indians from all taxes, but ſubjected them to ſervices. That fatal law made them dependent on the neighbouring commandants and magiſtrates, who, under the uſual pretence of placemen, of making them work for the public, too often ſacrificed them to their own ſervice. Thoſe who were not employed for them or for their teachers, were generally unemployed. If they ſhook off their natural indolence, it was to go a hunting or fiſhing, or to cultivate a little caſſada, juſt as much as they wanted for their own ſubſiſtence. Their manufactures were confined to ſome cotton girdles or ſaſhes to cover their nakedneſs, and the placing of a few feathers to adorn their heads. The moſt active found in their foreſts, or in the culture of their grounds, ſufficient to purchaſe a few articles of cutlery, and other trifles of ſmall value. If any one, from inconſtancy, hired himſelf to the Portugueſe, either for domeſtic ſervice or to navigate their ſmall craft, it was always for a ſhort time; for they hate work, and have the higheſt contempt for money.

Such was the fate of the Brazilians who had ſubmitted, whoſe number never exceeded 200,000. The independent natives had little intercourſe with the Europeans, except by the ſlaves they ſold them, or thoſe that were taken from them. The two nations committed few acts of hoſtility againſt each other, and in time entirely ceaſed. The Portugueſe have not been moleſted by the natives ſince the year 1717, and have not moleſted them ſince 1756.

Whilst the court of Liſbon was regulating the interior concerns of the colony, ſome of their ſubjects were

devising the means of extending it. They advanced to the south towards the river of Plata, and to the north as far as that of the Amazons. The Spaniards seemed to be in possession of both those rivers. The Portuguese were determined to drive them away, or share the navigation with them.

THE river of the Amazons, so famous for the extent of its course, that great vassal of the sea, to whom she brings the tribute she has received from so many of her own vassals, seems to be produced by innumerable torrents that rush down from the east side of the Andes, and unite in a spacious plain, to supply that immense river. Yet the common opinion is, that it comes from the lake Llauricocha, as from a reservoir of the Cordeleras, situate in the district of Guanuco, thirty leagues from Lima, about the 11th degree of south latitude. In its progress of a thousand or eleven hundred leagues, it receives the waters of a prodigious number of rivers, some of which come from far, and are very broad and deep. It is interspersed with an infinite number of islands, that are too often overflowed to admit of culture. It falls into the ocean under the line, and is there fifty leagues broad.

THE entrance of this river was first discovered in 1500 by Vincent Pinçon, one of the companions of Columbus; and its spring head is thought to have been discovered by Gonzalo Pizarro in 1538. His lieutenant Orellana embarked on this river, and sailed from one end to the other. He was obliged to fight his way down, and to engage many nations, who obstructed his navigation with their canoes, and poured showers of arrows upon him from the shore. It was, doubtless, then that the sight of beardless savages, as are all the American nations, struck the lively imagination of the Spaniards, and suggested the idea of an army of female warriors, and induced the commanding officer to change

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the name of that river, which was then called the Maragnon, and to call it the river of the Amazons, which name it retains to this day.

It may appear surprising that America did not fill the heads of the Spaniards with more prodigies, considering their propensity for the marvellous; but it must be remembered that their conquests, and the incredible massacres they committed in quest of riches, destroyed a country so well calculated to furnish them with wonderful stories. There indeed, the fancy of the Greeks might have found abundant matter for pleasing chimæras. They, who could not stir a step in a small territory without meeting with a multitude of wonders, had, even in the times of Hercules and Theseus, given birth to a nation of Amazons. They were so inchanted with this idea, that it recurred perpetually in the histories of all their heroes, down to Alexander. Perhaps, the Spaniards, still infatuated with this dream of profane antiquity, were the more disposed to realize the fiction, by removing into the new continent what they had learned in the old.

Such was, probably, the origin of the opinion they established, both in Europe and America, of a republic of female warriors actually existing, who did not live in society with men, and only admitted them once a year, for the purposes of procreation. To give the more credit to this romantic story, they reported, not without reason, that the women in America were all so unhappy, and were treated with such contempt and inhumanity, that many of them had agreed to shake off the yoke of their tyrants. They added, that being accustomed to follow the men into the forests, and to carry their provisions and baggage when they went out to fight, or to hunt, they were inured to hardships, and capable of such a bold resolution.

But

But it is abſurd to imagine that women who had an unconquerable averſion for men, would ever conſent to become mothers; nor is it likely that the men would run after their wives, when they had made their lives inſupportable at home, and always turned them away as ſoon as they had no more occaſion for them. Much leſs can it be ſuppoſed that the ſofter ſex, ſuſceptible of the tendereſt feelings, would expoſe or ſtrangle their own children becauſe they were boys; and coolly and deliberately agree to commit ſuch enormities as none would be guilty of, but a few individuals urged by rage and deſpair. Nor could a ſenate of women govern an ariſtocratical or a democratical commonwealth, or a monarchy be governed by a ſingle woman.

If ſtrange prejudices have formed ſocieties of both ſexes amongſt us, who live ſeparate, and free from that natural attraction which was intended to unite them, it is not conſiſtent with the nature of things, that chance ſhould have produced a nation of men without women, and ſtill leſs a nation of women without men. Certain it is, that ſince this political conſtitution has been talked of, infinite pains have been taken to find it out, but no traces of it could ever be diſcovered. This ſingular prodigy therefore will be like many others, which are always ſuppoſed to exiſt, though nobody knows where.

Be that as it may, the voyage of Orellana procured little information, but excited much curioſity. The civil wars that raged in Peru, prevented its being preſently ſatisfied; but when tranquillity was reſtored, Pedro d'Orſua, a gentleman of Navarre, diſtinguiſhed by his wiſdom and courage, offered the viceroy, in 1560, to reſume that navigation. He ſet out from Cuſco with ſeven hundred men. Thoſe blood-thirſty monſters, thoſe haters of all good men, murdered their chief, who was a man of good morals, and a friend to order. They ſet up at their head, with the title of king, a fierce Biſ-

BOOK cayan, called Lopez d'Aguirre, who promiſed them all the treaſures of the new world.

INTOXICATED with ſuch flattering hopes, thoſe barbarians ſailed down the Amazons into the ocean, and landed at Trinidad; murdered the governor, and plundered the iſland. The coaſts of Cumana, Caraccas, and St. Martha were ſtill more ſeverely treated, becauſe they were richer. They then penetrated into new Grenada, and were advancing to Quito and the heart of Peru, where every thing was to be deſtroyed by fire and ſword. A body of troops, haſtily got together, attacked thoſe deſperate men, beat and diſperſed them. D'Aguirre, ſeeing no way to eſcape, and enraged at his diſappointment, thus addreſſed his only daughter who attended him in his travels: "My child, I thought to have "placed thee upon a throne, but the event has not an- "ſwered my expectation. My honour and thy own "will not permit thee to live, and to be a ſlave to our "enemies; die therefore by a father's hand." Saying this, he inſtantly ſhot her through the body, and then put an end to her life, by plunging a dagger into her heart. After this unnatural act, his ſtrength failed, and he was taken priſoner, drawn and quartered.

AFTER theſe unfortunate events, the river of the Amazons was entirely neglected, and was totally forgotten for half a century. Some attempts were afterwards made to trace its diſcovery, but they were ill concerted and no better executed. The honour of conquering difficulties, and attaining a profitable knowledge of that great river, was reſerved to the Portugueſe.

THAT nation, which ſtill retained ſome remains of her former vigour, had, ſome years before, built a town at the entrance of the river, which they called Para. Pedro Texeira embarked at this place in 1638, and with a great number of canoes full of Indians and Portugueſe, went up the river of the Amazons, as far

the

the mouth of the Napo, and then up the Napo, which brought him almoſt to Quito, where he arrived by land. Notwithſtanding the enmity ſubſiſting between the Spaniards and Portugueſe, though ſubjects of the ſame maſter, Texeira was received with that regard, eſteem, and confidence, which were due to a man who was doing a ſignal ſervice to his country. He returned in company with d'Acugna and d'Artieda, two learned Jeſuits, who were commiſſioned to verify his obſervations, and to make others. An accurate reſult of theſe two voyages was ſent to the court of Madrid, where it gave riſe to a very extraordinary project. BOOK IX.

The communication between the Spaniſh colonies had long been found very difficult. The enemy's corſairs infeſted the north and ſouth ſeas, and intercepted their navigation. Even thoſe of their ſhips which had got to the Havannah and joined company, were not perfectly ſafe. The galleons were frequently attacked and taken by whole ſquadrons, and always purſued by privateers, who ſeldom failed to carry off the ſtragglers, that were parted from the convoy, either by ſtormy weather or by ſailing more ſlowly than the reſt. The Amazon, ſeemed to obviate all theſe difficulties. It was thought a feaſible, and even an eaſy matter, to convey thither the treaſures of New Grenada, Popayan, Quito, Peru, and Chili itſelf, by navigable rivers, or at a ſmall expence by land. It was thought that coming down the river, they would find the galleons ready in the harbour of Para to take them in. The Brazil fleet would then join the Spaniſh, and they would ſtrengthen each other. They would then ſail with great ſecurity in latitudes little known and little frequented, and would make a formidable appearance at their return to Europe, and ſhew that they were prepared to encounter any obſtacles they might have met with. The revolution which placed the duke of Braganza on the throne, put an end to theſe

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important projects. Each nation ſought only to keep that part of the river that beſt ſuited its own ſituation.

THE Spaniſh Jeſuits undertook to ſet up a miſſion in the country lying between the banks of the Amazon and of the Napo, down to the junction of both rivers. Every miſſionary, attended only by one man, took with him hatchets, knives, needles, and all kinds of iron tools, and ventured into the thickeſt of the foreſts. There they ſpent whole months in climbing up the trees, to ſee if they could diſcover ſome hut, perceive any ſmoke, or hear the ſound of any drum or fife. When they were aſſured that ſome ſavages were in the neighbourhood, they advanced towards them. Moſt of them fled, eſpecially if they were at war. Thoſe the miſſionary could come within reach of, were eaſily bribed by ſuch preſents as their ignorance made them ſet a value upon. This was all the eloquence he had in his power, or all he had any occaſion to exert.

WHEN he had aſſembled a few families, he led them to the place he had fixed upon to form a village. They were not eaſily prevailed upon to take up their abode there. As they were uſed to rove about, they could not bear the thoughts of never ſhifting their habitation. The independence in which they had lived, they thought preferable to the ſocial life that was recommended to them; and their unconquerable averſion for labour, induced them continually to return to their foreſts, where they had ſpent their lives in idleneſs. Even thoſe who were reſtrained by the authority or the paternal kindneſs of their lawgiver, ſeldom failed to run away in his abſence, if it was ever ſo ſhort. But his death always put an end to the ſettlement.

THE perſeverance of the Jeſuits has at laſt conquered theſe ſeemingly invincible obſtacles. Their miſſions, which began in 1637, has gradually acquired ſome ſolidity, and now conſiſts of thirty-ſix villages, twelve of

which are situated along the Napo, and twenty-four on the banks of the Amazon. The most populous has no more than twelve hundred inhabitants, and the rest much less. The increase of the mission must be slow, and can never be considerable.

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The women of this part of America are not fruitful, and their barrenness increases, when they remove from one place to another. The men are weakly, and make themselves more so by constant bathing. The climate is not healthy, and contagious distempers are very common. The savages never could, and, probably, never will, be brought to relish agriculture, and only delight in fishing and hunting, amusements which are by no means favourable to population. In a country which is almost all under water, few situations are fit for a settlement. The villages are so wide asunder, that they cannot possibly assist each other. The nations are likewise at too great a distance to be incorporated to any purpose; besides, most of them are intrenched in inaccessible places, and are so scanty that they often consist of five or six families.

Of all the Indians the Jesuits had collected, and whom they governed, none were so lifeless, or so incapable of being animated as these. Every missionary was obliged to put himself at their head, to make them pick up the cocoa, vanilla, and sarsaparilla that nature offers so plentifully, which is sent every year to Quito, three hundred leagues off, to barter them for necessaries. Their whole property consists of a hut, open on all sides, made of a few lianes, and covered on the top with palm leaves, a few implements of husbandry, a lance, bows and arrows for hunting, fishing tackle, a tent, a hammock, and a canoe. It has not been possible to extend their wishes beyond this. They are so well satisfied with what they possess, that they wish for nothing more; they live unconcerned, sleep without uneasiness, and die without fear. They may be said to be

happy

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happy, if happiness consists more in an exemption from the uneasy sensation that attends want, than in the multiplicity of enjoyments that our wants require.

THIS infant state, the offspring of religion alone, has hitherto been of no service to Spain, and it can hardly be expected it ever should. However the government of Maynas, with its capital Borja, have been formed there. The destroyers of America never thought of disturbing a country that afforded neither silver nor gold, nor any of those rich commodities which so powerfully allured their covetousness; but the neighbouring savages will sometimes come amongst them.

WHILST some missionaries were establishing the authority of the court of Madrid on the banks of the Amazon, others were doing the same service to that of Lisbon. Six or seven days journey below the settlement of St. Ignacio de Pevas, the last under the jurisdiction of Spain, is St. Paul, the first of the six villages formed by some Portuguese Carmelites, at a vast distance from each other. They are all on the south side of the river, where the ground is higher, and less liable to be overflowed. Those missions exhibit a pleasant prospect five hundred leagues from the sea; churches and houses prettily built, Americans neatly dressed, all sorts of European furniture which the Indians can get once a year at Para, when they go in their boats to sell the cocoa they pick up along the water side, where it grows spontaneously. If the Maynas were at liberty to form connections with these neighbours, they might procure some conveniencies that they cannot fetch from Quito, being separated from that place by the Cordeleras, which cut off the communication more effectually than immense seas would do. The government would, probably, find their account in allowing this freedom, and, possibly, it might be for the interest both of Spain and Portugal, though rivals, to extend this permission. It is well known that the province of

Quito

Quito is poor, for want of an opportunity of disposing of the overplus of those very commodities that are not to be had at Para. The two provinces might mutually assist each other, by means of the Napo and the Amazon, which would be greatly conducive to the welfare of both, and advance them to a degree of prosperity they can never attain without this intercourse. The mother countries would in time reap great advantages from it; and it could never be prejudicial to them, as Quito can never buy what is sent from Europe to America, and Para consumes nothing but what Lisbon buys of her neighbours. But it is with national antipathies, and the jealousies of crowned heads, as it is with the blind passions of men in private life. One unlucky incident is sufficient to divide families and nations for ever, when it is their highest interest to love and assist one another, and to promote universal happiness. Hatred and revenge will rather suffer than not do mischief, and are perpetually kept up by the wounds they inflict, and the blood they spill. How different is man in the state of nature from man corrupted in our wretched societies! The latter amply deserves all the sorrows he brings upon himself.

A PROOF of his mischievous disposition may be seen in those bulwarks, and that chain of forts erected by the avarice and distrust of the conquerors of Brazil, from the district of Coari down to the sea side. The Portuguese built them to preserve their usurpations in that part of the world. Though these forts are at a great distance from each other, and are but slightly fortified and thinly manned, the few Indians who inhabit the intermediate spaces are completely kept in subjection. The petty nations who refused to submit have disappeared, having fled for refuge to some remote or unknown region. The rich soil they have forsaken has not been cultivated, though it would have been for the interest of the mother country that it should; so that hitherto

hitherto Spain and Portugal have gained little else from all their conquests, than hatred and indignation against their cruelties.

The country along the Amazon indeed furnishes Portugal with sarsaparilla, vanilla, coffee, cotton, woods for cabinet work, timber, and plenty of cocoa, which, till of late years, was the current coin of the country. But this produce is nothing to what it might be. It is only to be found for some leagues about great Para, the capital of the colony, whereas the cultures ought to extend all along the great river, and on the fertile banks of an infinite number of navigable rivers which fall into it.

These great articles of trade are not the only things that might turn to good account, if Portugal, like other nations, had from time to time fit able naturalists into her colonies. Chance alone has discovered the Cucheris and Pseuri, two aromatic trees, whose fruits have the same properties as the nutmeg and clove. Perhaps, culture might give them that degree of perfection they want. A constant study might procure much useful knowledge in a country where nature is so different from what it is in our climate.

Unfortunately the Portuguese, who employ none but savages for their laborious work, attended to nothing but making slaves. At first, they set up a cross on some eminence in the countries they ran over, and left the care of it to the Indians. If they suffered it to decay, they and their children were piously doomed to slavery, for this heinous profanation. Thus the sign of salvation and deliverance for Christians, was made a sign of death and slavery for the Indians. In after-times, the forts they had erected served to increase the number of slaves. That resource proving insufficient, the Portuguese of Para made excursions of five or six hundred leagues to procure an additional number of men to supply the place of beasts in the cultivation of land. In 1719, they fetched some

some from the country of the Maynas; in 1733 from the missions of the Napo; and in 1741 as far as the head of the river Madera, and at different times from the banks of rivers nearer home. They procured the greatest number from Rio Negro, where they have long since built a considerable fort. A detachment from the garrison of Para is always encamped on the banks of that river, to keep the reduced Indians in awe. That part of the country is covered with missions, where the missionaries piously encourage their converts to attack the neighbouring nations and bring away slaves. At last a party of soldiers, who were sent out to make further discoveries, went in boats as far as the Oroonoko. This last success has enlarged the views of the Portuguese, as it leaves no doubt about the communication between that river and the Amazon by Rio Negro. It concerns the court of Madrid to examine the grounds of these views, and to see how far they ought to take measures for disappointing them. At least we may venture to affirm, that the projects of the court of Lisbon on the river Plata, deserve the most serious attention.

BOOK XII.

Settlement of the Portuguese on the river Plata.

The Portuguese, who had appeared there soon after the Spaniards, took a dislike to it, and withdrew in a short time. In 1679 their inclination of settling there was revived, and with more spirit than they were thought capable of from their conduct and manners in Europe, they penetrated into Paraguay. They had already established the colony of St. Sacrament, near the islands of St. Gabriel, opposite to Buenos Ayres, when they were accidentally detected. The Guarani Indians hastened thither to make amends for the neglect of government. Without deliberating, they attacked the new erected fortifications, and demolished them with an intrepidity, that has done honour to their courage.

The court of Lisbon, who had built great hopes upon this settlement, was not discouraged by the late ill success,

BOOK IX. ſuccefs, but deſired that, till their claims could be adjuſted, they might be allowed a place where the Portugueſe might be ſheltered from the ſtorms, and in ſecurity from the pirates, if they were forced by ſtreſs of weather to enter the river Plata.

CHARLES II, who dreaded a war and hated buſineſs, was weak enough to grant their requeſt, and only ſtipulated that the place ſo granted ſhould ſtill be deemed his property; that no more than fourteen Portugueſe families ſhould be ſent thither; that the houſes ſhould be built of wood and thatched; that no fort ſhould be erected; and that the governor of Buenos Ayres ſhould have a right to inſpect both the colony and the ſhips that ſhould come into it.

HAD the Jeſuits carried on the negociation, as they had directed the war, they would certainly have foreſeen the conſequences of ſuch a compliance. It was impoſſible but a ſtanding ſettlement, be it what it would, muſt be a conſtant ſource of altercations with an enterprifing neighbour, who had immenſe claims, who was ſure of the protection of all the enemies of Spain, and who were within reach of Brazil, which would enable him to take advantage of every opportunity that might offer, to encroach upon the Spaniards. The event ſoon ſhewed the danger that might have been foreſeen.

IMMEDIATELY upon the elevation of a French prince to the throne of Spain, when all was ſtill in confuſion and uncertainty as to the conſequences of that great revolution, the Portugueſe reſtored the fortifications of St. Sacrament with amazing celerity; and at the ſame time cauſed ſome troops to advance towards the frontiers of the Guaranis, hoping to ward off any blow from that quarter. But they were miſtaken. The Jeſuits having detected the artifice, brought their converts to St. Sacrament, which was already beſieged. Thoſe brave Indians, on their arrival, offered to mount the breach,

breach, though they knew it was but just opened. When they began their march, ſome batteries were fired upon them from the town, but they ſtood the fire without ever breaking their ranks, nor could they be withheld by the fire of the ſmall arms, which likewiſe killed many of them. The intrepidity with which they ſtill advanced, ſo aſtoniſhed the Portugueſe that they fled to their ſhips, and abandoned the place.

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THE diſaſters which Philip V. met with in Europe, preventing his reaping any advantage from this ſucceſs, the colony of St. Sacrament was firmly re-inſtated by the peace of Utrecht. Queen Anne, who made this peace, and who neither neglected her own intereſts nor thoſe of her allies, required Spain to give up this important point.

AT that period the new ſettlement, being now under no apprehenſions, began to carry on an immenſe trade with Buenos Ayres. That contraband trade had long ſubſiſted. Rio-Janeiro furniſhed Buenos Ayres with ſugar, tobacco, wine, brandy, negroes, and woollen goods; and received in return from thence, flour, biſcuit, dried or ſalt meat, and money. As ſoon as the colonies had a ſafe and commodious ſtaple, they ſet no bounds to their intercourſe. The court of Madrid, who ſoon perceived which way the treaſures of Peru went, ſhewed great diſcontent, which ſtill increaſed with the damage complained of. It was a perpetual ſource of diviſion between the two nations, and continually threatened to end in a rupture. The conciliating methods which were propoſed from time to time, were always found impracticable. At laſt, however, the matter was adjuſted.

IT was agreed at Madrid on the 13th of January 1750, that Portugal ſhould give up to Spain the colony of St. Sacrament, and the north border of the river Plata, together with the village of St. Chriſtopher and the adjacent

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land, situated between the rivers Yupura and Iça, which fall into the Amazon. Spain, on her side, gave up all the lands and habitations bordering on the east side of the river Uraguay, from the river Ibicui to the south, the village of Santa Rosa, and all the others on the eastern border of the Guarapey.

This exchange was censured in both courts. Some dared to say at Lisbon, that it was bad policy to sacrifice a colony, where illicit trade brought in eight or ten millions* a year to the mother country, for other possessions whose advantages were precarious, or at least distant. The clamours ran higher still at Madrid, and were more universal. They already thought they saw the Portuguese masters of the whole extent of the Uraguay, pouring their commodities all along the banks of the Plata, penetrating by means of several rivers into the Tucuman, into Chili, and as far as Potosi, and by degrees making themselves masters of the riches of Peru. They could not conceive how the same ministers, who thought there was no possibility of putting a stop to a contraband trade which could be carried on but from one spot, should imagine they should be able to prevent it, when a hundred channels were laid open to it. It was, said they, shutting a window against a thief, and throwing open the doors.

These dispositions gave rise to numberless cabals, which were laid to the charge of the Jesuits. They were known to be averse from a regulation that must dismember their republic; and it was supposed they might safely be suspected of setting all their engines to work to prevent the conclusion of the agreement. They were banished from both courts, the intrigues ceased, and the treaty was ratified.

The next thing to be done was to enforce the execution of it in America, which appeared to be no easy matter.

* On an average about 400,000l.

matter. The Guaranis had not been ſubdued, but had freely ſubmitted to Spain. They might, poſſibly, be of opinion, that they had not given that crown a power of diſpoſing of them to another. Without meditating deeply on the ſubtleties of the law of nations, they might think they were the beſt judges of what concerned their own happineſs. Their known abhorrence for the Portugueſe yoke, might either miſlead or inform their ſimplicity; and that averſion might be ſtrengthened by inſinuations from without. So critical a ſituation made it neceſſary to proceed with the greateſt circumſpection, which was accordingly done. BOOK IX.

The forces which both powers had ſent over from Europe, and thoſe that could be collected in America, joined to prevent or ſurmount the obſtacles they foreſaw. This parade did not terrify thoſe againſt whom it was intended. Though the ſeven ſettlements that had been ceded were not ſuccoured by the other ſettlements, at leaſt not openly; and though the guides who till then had led them on to battle were no longer at their head; they were not backward in taking up arms in defence of their liberty. But their military conduct was not ſuch as it ought to have been. Inſtead of confining themſelves to harraſs the enemy, and to cut off his ſubſiſtence, which came two hundred leagues off, the Guaranis dared to meet him in the open field, where they ſuſtained ſeveral ſmall checks. If they had been totally defeated, they were determined to quit the country, to carry off all they could, and to leave the conqueror nothing but a deſert. Whether the two powers were intimidated by this reſolute behaviour, or whether one or both found they had made a bad bargain, the treaty of exchange was cancelled in 1761, and things remained upon the old footing in America; but both courts retained a violent reſentment againſt the Jeſuits, who were

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thought to have kindled a war in Paraguay, to promote their own intereſt.

We cannot ſay how far they may have deſerved this accuſation. The proofs have not been laid before the tribunal of the public. All that a writer, who has nothing to guide him but conjecture, can permit himſelf to ſay, is, that probabilities are ſtrong againſt them. It was hardly poſſible that men who had erected a vaſt edifice with immenſe labour, could tamely ſee it pulled down. Independent of ſelf-intereſt, which muſt work powerfully upon a ſociety, which, from its firſt origin, had been ſecretly working its way to dominion, the Jeſuits muſt have thought themſelves intruſted with the felicity of thoſe humane and ſimple people who had thrown themſelves into their arms, and truſted them with the care of their fate. However this may be, we muſt now proceed to ſpeak of another method the Portugueſe took to enlarge their poſſeſſions.

Settlement of the Portugueſe at St. Paul.

In the diſtrict of St. Vincent, the ſouthermoſt in Brazil, and the neareſt to Rio de la Plata, thirteen leagues from the ſea, is a town called St. Paul. The Portugueſe, who founded it, were thoſe malefactors who were firſt ſent to America; as ſoon as they perceived that they were to be ſubject to ſome law, they withdrew from the places they had firſt inhabited, intermarried with the natives, and in a ſhort time became ſo profligate, that their fellow citizens broke off all intercourſe with them. This contempt, the fear of being reſtrained in their licentiouſneſs, and the love of liberty, made them deſirous of being independent. The ſituation of their town, which could be defended by a handful of men againſt the moſt powerful armies that could be ſent againſt them, made them ſo bold, that they reſolved to have no maſters but themſelves, and their ambition was crowned with ſucceſs. Profligate men of all nations flocked to join them. All travellers were ſtrictly

forbidden

forbidden to enter the new republic. Whoever would be admitted, muſt come with an intent to ſettle there. The candidates were to undergo a ſevere trial. Thoſe who could not go through that kind of noviciate, or who were ſuſpected of perfidy, were murdered without mercy; as were likewiſe all who ſhewed any inclination to deſert.

THE inhabitants of St. Paul had every inducement to indulge in idleneſs, and a quiet life; a pure air, conſtant fair weather, a temperate climate, though in the 24th degree of ſouth latitude, and a land abounding with corn, ſugar, and excellent paſture; but that reſtleſneſs ſo natural to reſolute banditti, that deſire of dominion, which is the next ſtep to a love of independence, the advances of liberty, which lead men to wiſh for glory of ſome kind or other, and to diſtinguiſh themſelves: perhaps all theſe motives together, prompted them to forego an eaſy life, and engage in troubleſome and hazardous excurſions.

THE firſt object of theſe excurſions was to get ſlaves for their cultures. When they had depopulated the adjacent country, they proceeded to the province of Guayra, where the Jeſuits had collected and civilized the Guaranis. Theſe new Chriſtians were expoſed to ſo many maſſacres, and ſo many of them were carried off, that they ſuffered themſelves to be perſuaded to remove to the unwholeſome banks of the Parana and the Uraguay, which they ſtill inhabit. They reaped little advantage by this compliance; for they could promiſe themſelves no tranquillity, unleſs they were allowed ſuch arms as their aggreſſors had.

TO propoſe that they ſhould be furniſhed with ſuch arms, was a matter of too delicate a nature. Spain had laid it down as a fundamental maxim, never to introduce the uſe of fire-arms amongſt the Indians, leſt the unfortunate victims of her inſatiable greedineſs

ſhould one day make uſe of them to extricate themſelves from the mercileſs fury of their oppreſſors. The law-givers of the Guaranis applauded this neceſſary precaution with regard to ſlaves, who were kept under by compulſion, but they thought it needleſs with men who were freely attached to the catholic kings by ſuch gentle ties, that they never could be tempted to unlooſe them. They ſo well pleaded the cauſe of their converts, that in ſpite of oppoſition and prejudice, they obtained their requeſt. The Guaranis were indulged with fire-arms in 1639, and ſoon made ſuch good uſe of them, that they became the bulwark of Paraguay, and were able to keep off the inhabitants of St. Paul.

THOSE deſperate men reſolved to procure by craft what they could not obtain by force. They repaired to the places where the miſſionaries were uſed to reſort, and there they ſet up croſſes. Then ſome of the moſt ſenſible of them, dreſſed in the habit of Jeſuits, made ſome trifling preſents to the ſavages they met with, and enticed them to follow them to a habitation where they ſaid every thing was in readineſs to make them happy. When they had aſſembled a certain number, the troops that lay concealed, ruſhed upon the too credulous Indians, loaded them with irons, and carried them off. Some who made their eſcape gave the alarm, which raiſed a general ſuſpicion, that occaſioned a ſtop to be put to theſe hoſtile proceedings.

THE inhabitants of St. Paul then carried on their depredations another way, and extended them as far as the river of the Amazons. They are ſaid to have deſtroyed no leſs than a million of Indians. Thoſe who have eſcaped their fury, in an extent of three or four hundred leagues, are grown more ſavage than ever. They have fled for ſafety to the caves of the mountains, or diſperſed into the darkeſt receſſes of the foreſts. Their deſtroyers have not met with a better fate, having all periſhed

ſooner

ſooner or later in theſe dangerous excurſions. But the evil genius of America has ſupplied their place with vagabond Brazilians, fugitive negroes, and Europeans who were fond of that roving life.

THE ſame ſpirit has always prevailed at St. Paul, even after ſome particular circumſtance had induced the people to acknowledge the dominion of Portugal. Only their excurſions are now in a track that rather promotes than obſtructs the views of the mother-country. By following the courſe of ſeveral rivers, they have attempted to open a way into Peru by the north of Paraguay. The vicinity of the lake of the Xarayes has put them in poſſeſſion of the gold mines of Cayaba and Matto-Groſſo, which they have opened, and ſtill continue to work, without meeting with any interruption from Spain, who lays claim to that country. They would have carried their uſurpations further, had they not been ſtopped by the Chiquitos.

Productions of Brazil.

WHILE theſe reſtleſs and enterpriſing men were ravaging the Amazon, the Plata, and the mountains of Peru, the coaſts of Brazil daily improved in rich productions. That colony ſent over to the mother country thirty-two millions weight of ſugar, which was enough for its conſumption, and ſufficient to ſupply a great part of Europe; tobacco, which could be diſpoſed of to advantage both in Africa and the European nations; balſam of capivi, a balſamic oil that diſtils from inciſions made in a tree called Copaiba; Ipecacuanha, a very mild emetic which is much uſed; cocoa, which grew wild in ſome places, and was cultivated in others; cotton, ſuperior to that of the Levant and the Leeward iſlands, and almoſt equal to the fineſt that comes from the Eaſt Indies; indigo, which the Portugueſe have never ſufficiently attended to; hides, the produce of oxen that run wild, and have greatly multiplied in the foreſts; and, laſtly, logwood.

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The tree that produces this wood is as tall and as bushy as our oak; the leaves are small, roundish, and of a fine bright green; the trunk is commonly tortuous, rugged and knotty, like the white-thorn. The bloſſoms, which reſemble lillies of the valley, are of a fine red, and exhale a fragrant ſmell. The bark is ſo thick, that there is very little left when the wood is ſtripped. This wood is very fit for turnery work, and takes a fine poliſh; but its chief uſe is for the red dye. The tree grows in dry and barren places, and among the rocks; it is found in moſt provinces in the Brazils, but chiefly in that of Fernambucca; and the beſt of all grows ten leagues from Olinda, the capital of that diſtrict.

In exchange for theſe commodities, Portugal ſends flour, wine, brandy, ſalt, woollen goods, ſilks, linen, ſmall wares, paper, in ſhort, all that Europe exports to America, except gold and ſilver ſtuffs, which the mother country had, whether properly or not, prohibited in her colonies.

The whole trade was carried on by a fleet, which ſailed every year from Liſbon and Oporto in the month of March, and conſiſted of twenty or twenty-two ſhips for Rio-Janeiro, thirty for Bahia, as many for Fernambucca, and ſeven or eight for Para. The ſhips parted when they came to a certain latitude, and proceeded to their reſpective deſtinations. They afterwards met at Bahia to ſail for Portugal, which they reached in September or October the year following, under convoy of five or ſix men of war, which had eſcorted them at their going out.

Many judicious ſpeculators blamed this regulation, and thought it would have been better to have left the merchants at liberty to ſend out their ſhips, and order them home when it ſuited them beſt. This wiſe ſyſtem would infallibly have reduced the expence of freight, which muſt affect the price of the commodities. A free trade would

would have employed more ships, and voyages would have been more frequent. It would have strengthened the navy, and encouraged agriculture. The intercourse between the colonies and the mother country being brisker, would have been of signal advantage to government, by facilitating the proper steps to be taken with regard to their protection and authority.

The court of Lisbon seemed at times inclinable to yield to these considerations, but was long deterred by the fear of seeing the ships fall into the enemy's hands, if they sailed separately; and afterwards by the obstacles which the viceroys of Brazil opposed to this alteration. As it was their interest on all accounts that the business of the colony should be transacted in the capital, they found means to keep it there; so that this town, which is called either Bahia or San Salvador, became a very flourishing city.

The way to it is by the bay of All Saints, which is two leagues and a half broad at the entrance. On each side stands a fortress, intended rather to prevent landing than to hinder ships from passing by. It is thirteen or fourteen leagues in length, and interspersed with little islands, which produce cotton, and form an agreeable prospect. It grows narrow towards the bottom, which is sheltered from every attack, and makes an excellent harbour, where the largest fleets may ride unmolested. The town commands this harbour, being built on the slope of a steep hill. The Dutch had enclosed it with a rampart of earth, but the Portuguese have let it moulder away, thinking the town sufficiently defended by a number of little forts they have erected at small distances, and by a garrison of four or five hundred men. Any engineer who had skill enough to make the most of the situation, might render it impregnable at a small expence.

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The place well deſerves this attention. It contains two thouſand houſes, generally well built. They are very elegantly furniſhed, and the more ſo as the ſumptuary laws reſtrain all extravagance in dreſs. By a very old law, which has often been broken, and which extends to the Brazils ſince the year 1749, the Portugueſe are forbidden to wear any gold or ſilver ſtuffs, or any laced cloaths; but their paſſion for finery, which no laws can eradicate, has induced them to contrive ſome ſubſtitute, and to wear croſſes, medals, and diamond-chaplets or beads, the rich enſigns of a poor religion. The gold they cannot wear themſelves, they laviſh to adorn their domeſtic ſlaves.

As the ſituation of the town will not admit of riding in coaches, the rich, who will always be diſtinguiſhed from the vulgar, have contrived to be carried in cotton hammocks. Supinely ſtretched upon velvet cuſhions, and ſurrounded with ſilken curtains which they open and ſhut as they pleaſe, thoſe proud and lazy mortals move about more voluptuouſly, though with leſs expedition, than in the moſt eaſy and elegant carriages. The women ſeldom enjoy this luxury. This people, who are ſuperſtitious to a degree of fanaticiſm, will hardly allow them to go to church, covered with their cloaks, on their high feſtivals; and nobody is ſuffered to ſee them in their own houſes. This reſtraint, which is the effect of an ungovernable jealouſy, does not prevent their carrying on intrigues, though they are ſure of being ſtabbed to death upon the ſlighteſt ſuſpicion. By a more judicious lenity than ours, a girl who, without her mother's conſent, or even under her protection, yields to the importunities of a lover, is treated with leſs ſeverity. But if the father cannot conceal her infamy by diſpoſing of her in marriage, he abandons her to the ſcandalous trade of a courtezan. Thus it is that riches bring on a train of vices and cor-

ception, especially when they are acquired by bloodshed and murder, and are not preserved by labour.

The want of society, consequent upon the separation of the sexes, is not the only impediment to the pleasures and enjoyments of life at Bahia. The hypocrisy of some; the superstition of others; avarice within, and pompous parade without; extreme indulgence, bordering upon extreme cruelty, in a climate where all the sensations are quick and impetuous; the distrust that attends weakness; that indolence that trusts every thing to slaves, whether it relates to pleasure or business: all the vices that are to be found, either separately or collectively, in the most corrupt southern countries, constitute the character of the Portuguese at Bahia. However, the depravity of their manners seems to decrease, in proportion as the government of the mother country is more enlightened. Those improvements in knowledge, the abuse of which will sometimes corrupt virtuous nations, may refine and reform a degenerate people.

The climate, though a good one, is attended with many inconveniencies that lessen its excellence. There is no mutton; poultry is scarce, and beef is bad. The ants destroy the fruits of the earth, as they do all over the colony. The whales devour the fish, or frighten them out of the bay. On the other hand, the wine, the meal, the salt meats, and all the provisions brought from Europe, are not always found when they get there; so that the good sells at an extravagant price. All articles of industry are sold at a still more exorbitant rate. The lowest among the Portuguese, wholly employed in the commerce of tobacco and some other articles, would think it a disgrace to exercise any art. Few of the free men have either genius or inclination for it. The slaves, who make up the greatest part of the population, are all employed by the rich, either in labour or for shew.

Not-

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NOTWITHSTANDING these defects, which generally prevailed, though not to the same degree in all parts of the colony, it had long been in a prosperous condition. In the beginning of this century, the discovery of the gold mines gave it an additional lustre that surprized all nations.

Discovery of the gold and diamond mines in Brazil.

THE circumstances that occasioned this discovery are variously related. The most common opinion is, that a caravan of Portuguese, who went from Rio-Janeiro, penetrated into the continent in 1695. They met with the inhabitants of St. Paul, who gave them gold-dust in exchange for some European goods, and found that they fetched it from the mines of Parana-Panama, situated in their neighbourhood.

SOME years after, some soldiers from Rio-Janeiro, who were sent to quell some Indians in the inland parts, perceived on their march some golden fish-hooks, and were informed that many torrents, rushing down from the mountains, brought gold into the valleys. Upon this information, a strict search was made, and some rocks were found upon the hills that contained gold; but this false shew of treasures was not thought worth the expence it would occasion for the procuring it; nor was a vein of gold that runs along an immense space, found rich enough to answer the working of it. After many fruitless trials, the Portuguese contented themselves with picking up gold out of the sand, like the savages, when the waters had subsided. This practice has proved very successful at Villa-Rica, and a great way up the country. Government freely grants from three to five leagues of this precious soil to any one who is able to go and make a fortune there.

THE blacks are employed in looking for gold in the beds of torrents and rivers, and separating it from the sand and mud, in which it is naturally concealed. The usual custom is, that every slave is required to bring in

the eighth part of an ounce of gold a day; and if any are so lucky or so diligent as to pick up more, the overplus is their own property. The first use they make of it, is to buy other slaves to do their work for them, that they may live in idleness. Provided a man brings in his quantity of gold, his master can require nothing more. It is some comfort to a slave, when the drudgery that is required of him will enable him to alleviate his burden.

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If we were to estimate the gold that Brazil annually yields, by the fifth that the king of Portugal receives, it would appear to be forty-five millions of livres *; but we shall not be taxed with exaggeration, if we suppose that one eighth of the duty is kept back, notwithstanding all the vigilance of government.

To this account must be added the silver drawn from the illicit trade with Buenos-Ayres, which was formerly immense; but the measures lately taken by Spain have reduced it to about three millions x a year. Many people even wonder that such an intercourse should subsist at all between two nations, who, having no manufactures of their own, and taxing foreign industry pretty much alike, ought certainly to have nothing to sell. It is not considered that the coast of Portugal, being very extensive, and accessible every where, has a great advantage over the peninsula of Cadiz, for eluding the customs, and escaping the payment of the duties on goods brought up for exportation to America. Besides, exchanges are not the only way that Spanish money is poured into the Portuguese coffers. Independent of all sale or purchase, the Peruvians find a great advantage in sending their money over to Europe in this indirect way.

The first political writers who took notice of the probable consequences of the discovery made in Brazil, did not scruple to foretell that gold and silver would

* 1,968,750l. x About 131,000l.

come

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come nearer to each other in value. The experience of all countries and of all ages had taught them that, though many ounces of silver had always been given for an ounce of gold, because there had always been many more silver than gold mines, the value of both metals had varied in every country, in proportion to the abundance of either.

In Japan, the proportion of gold to silver is as one to eight; in China, as one to ten; in other parts of India, as one to eleven, twelve, thirteen or fourteen, as we advance further west.

The like variations are to be met with in Europe. In ancient Greece, gold was to silver as one to thirteen. When the produce of all the mines in the universe was brought to Rome, the mistress of the world, the most settled proportion was one to ten. It went as far as one to thirteen under Tiberius. Numberless and infinite variations are to be met with in the barbarous ages. In a word, when Columbus penetrated into America, the proportion was less than one to twelve.

The quantity of these metals which was then brought from Mexico and Peru, not only made them more common, but still increased the value of gold above silver, as there was greater plenty of the latter in those parts. Spain, that was of course the best judge of the proportion, settled it at one to sixteen in the coin of the kingdom, and this system, with some slight variations, was adopted throughout Europe.

This proportion still exists; but we have no reason on that account to contradict those who had foretold that it would alter. If gold has fallen but little in the markets, and not at all in the coin, since a great quantity comes from the Brazils, this is owing to particular circumstances, which do not affect the principle. A great deal of gold is now used for setting of jewels and for gilding, which has prevented the price of silver from falling

falling ſo much as it would have done if our fashions had not altered. It is this ſpirit of luxury that has always kept up the price of diamonds, though they are grown more common.

BOOK III.

AT all times, men have been fond of making a parade of their riches, either becauſe originally they were the reward of ſtrength, and the enſign of power, or becauſe they have every where obtained that regard which is due to real merit. A deſire of being taken notice of, prompts a man to deck himſelf with the choiceſt and moſt ſtriking gifts of nature. The ſame vanity, in this reſpect, prevails amongſt the ſavages as in the civilized nations. Of all the ſubſtances that contribute to repreſent the ſplendor of opulence, none is ſo precious as the diamond; nor has any been of ſuch value in trade, or ſo ornamental in ſociety. There are diamonds of all colours, and of every ſhade of the ſeveral colours. The diamond has the red of the ruby, the orange of the hyacinth, the blue of the ſapphire, and the green of the emerald. This laſt is the deareſt when it is of a beautiful tint. The roſe diamonds, blue and yellow, are the next in value. The yellowiſh and the blackiſh are leaſt eſteemed. Tranſparency and clearneſs are the natural and eſſential properties of the diamond, to which art has added the brilliant and ſparkling luſtre of the ſeveral faces.

THERE are very few diamond mines. Till of late years, we knew of none but in the Eaſt Indies. The oldeſt is in the river Gouel, that comes down from the mountains, and falls into the Ganges. It is called the mine of Soumelpour, from the name of a village ſituated near that part of the river where the diamonds are found. They have always taken out very few, as likewiſe out of the Succadan, a river in the iſland of Borneo. The ridge of mountains that extends from Cape Comorin to Bengal, has yielded infinitely more. They are not found in cluſters, but ſcattered up and down, in a ſandy, ſtony

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ſtony and barren ſoil, lying at ſix, eight, ten and twelve feet below the ſurface, and ſometimes deeper. The right of digging for them is bought for a ſum of money, and the purchaſer is ſometimes enriched and ſometimes ruined, according as he has good or bad luck.

IT was to be feared that the continual wars in India would put an end to this ſource of riches, when theſe fears were removed by a diſcovery that was made at Serra-do-Frio in Brazil. Some ſlaves who were looking for gold, uſed to find ſome little bright ſtones, that they threw away among the ſand and gravel. Some curious miners preſerved ſeveral of theſe ſingular pebbles, which were ſhewn to Pedro d'Almeyda, governor general of the mines. As he had been at Goa, he ſuſpected that they might be diamonds. Upon which the court of Liſbon commiſſioned her miniſter in Holland, d'Acugna, in 1730, to make the neceſſary inquiries into the nature of theſe ſtones. He put ſome of them into the hands of able artiſts, who having cut them, declared they were very fine diamonds.

THE Portugueſe immediately ſearched for them with ſuch ſucceſs, that the Rio-Janeiro fleet brought home 1246 ounces. This produced ſuch a plenty, that their price fell conſiderably; but the miniſtry took ſuch meaſures as ſoon made them riſe to their original value, which they have maintained ever ſince. They conferred on a company the excluſive right of ſeeking and ſelling diamonds; and even to reſtrain the eagerneſs of that company, they were required to employ no more than 600 ſlaves in that buſineſs. They have ſince been permitted to employ as many as they pleaſe, upon condition that they pay 1500 [y] livres for every mine. In both contracts, the court has reſerved to itſelf all diamonds that ſhall exceed a certain number of carrats.

A LAW which forbad on pain of death to encroach on the privilege, was not thought a ſufficient ſecurity;

[y] 65l. 12s. 6d.

and

and a ſhorter way of enforcing the execution was, to depopulate the places that lay near that rich mine, and to make a ſolitary waſte of all the regions that might be tempted to interfere in ſo lucrative a trade. In the ſpace of a hundred leagues, there is but one village left, which is wholly inhabited by the company's agents and ſlaves.

THEIR privilege, conſtantly protected by the mother country, has never met with the leaſt oppoſition. The government itſelf is their agent in Europe. Whatever be the produce of the mines, which muſt be fluctuating, the court delivers annually, to one ſingle contractor, diamonds to the value of 12,500,000 livres [2]. They engage to ſell no others, and hitherto this engagement has been held ſacred. They are bought up in their rough ſtate by the Engliſh and Dutch, who cut them, and then diſpoſe of them all over Europe, but chiefly in France, where the greateſt conſumption is made. They are neither ſo hard nor ſo clear as thoſe of the Eaſt Indies, nor do they ſparkle ſo much, but they are whiter. One of the ſame weight ſells ten per cent cheaper.

THE fineſt diamonds in the world are, that of the Great Mogul, which weighs 279 carrats and one ſixteenth; that of the Grand Duke, which weighs 139 carrats; the great Sancy, of 106 carrats; and the Pitt, 136 carrats three grains. All this is very little, compared to the diamond ſent from Brazil to the king of Portugal: it weighs 1680 carrats, or twelve ounces and a half. As we know of no meaſure to aſcertain the value of ſuch a gem, an Engliſh writer has ventured to eſtimate it at 1,298,000,000 of livres [3]. A great abatement muſt be made in this eſtimate, if, as ſome very ſkilful lapidaries ſuſpect, it ſhould prove to be but a topaz.

IT is not known whether the diamonds of Brazil grow in the valleys where they are found, or whether they are brought down by an infinite number of torrents

[2] 546,875l. [3] 56,787,500l.

that

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that rush into them, and by five small rivers that flow from the neighbouring mountains. What is certain is, that the diamonds do not come from a quarry; that they are scattered about; and that they are picked up in larger quantities in the rainy season and after violent storms.

THE gold and diamond mines, added to a rich culture, should make Brazil the chief colony in the world; but in order to effect this, it should have been preserved from inteſtine commotions and foreign invaſions. Both theſe objects therefore were taken into conſideration.

Meaſures taken by the court of Liſbon, to ſecure the produce of the mines.

ALL the mines lay in the diſtricts of St. Vincent and Rio-Janeiro, and in the adjacent lands. Some were in the hands of the inhabitants of St. Paul, and the reſt lay open to their inroads. As thoſe banditti were too numerous and too valiant to be brought into ſubjection by open force, it was thought adviſeable to treat with them in the way of trade. As they could make no uſe of their new acquired wealth, without a free communication with the ports where the luxuries and conveniencies of Europe were to be purchaſed, they were more tractable than was expected. They conſented to pay, like the reſt of the Portugueſe, a fifth of their gold; but they determined the amount of this tribute themſelves, and never made it what it ought to have been. Government was wiſe enough to connive at this fraud. They foreſaw that the connections and the new way of life of the inhabitants of St. Paul, would gradually ſoften their manners, and that ſooner or later they would be brought to ſubmit. This revolution accordingly happened about the year 1730. An eloquent, active, and ſupple man found means to entice the principal men among thoſe adventurers, and the multitude followed their example. The whole republic acknowledged the authority of the court of Liſbon, in the ſame manner as all the other Portugueſe in the Brazils.

BEFORE

BEFORE this great event, the town of Rio-Janeiro had been fortified, which is the mart for the produce of all the mines, and of the neighbouring provinces for the consumption of Europe. The bay in which it is situated was first discovered in 1525 by Diaz de Solis. Some French protestants, who were persecuted in their own country, made a small settlement there under the guidance of Villegagnon. This settlement consisted of fifteen or twenty huts, made of boughs and covered over with grass, after the manner of the savages in those parts. Some small bulwarks that were erected for planting of cannon, gave it the name of Fort Coligni. It was destroyed three years after by Emanuel de Sa, who laid the foundation of a town on the continent, which afterwards became considerable by the culture of tobacco, and chiefly of sugar. As it was situated at 22° 20' south latitude, it was far enough from Europe to expect that moderate fortifications would be sufficient to defend it. But the temptation of attacking it having increased in proportion as it grew richer, it was thought proper to strengthen it with additional works. They were far advanced, when Du Guay Trouin took it in 1711, with such boldness and skill as redounded much to his honour, and was no small addition to the fame he had already acquired. The new fortifications that have since been added to those the French had mastered, have not made the town more impregnable, as it may be attacked on other sides, where the landing is very practicable. If gold can make its way into brazen towers through iron gates, much more will iron break down gates that defend gold and diamonds. And indeed the court of Lisbon has not thought it sufficient to fortify Rio-Janeiro.

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BETWEEN the district of St. Vincent and the mouth of the Plata, is a barren coast, about 150 leagues in length. As it had nothing very inviting for the Portu-

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gueſe, they never thought it worth while to ſettle there. But as gold has lately been found in the rivers that water thoſe deſerts, ſome coloniſts have been tempted to try their fortune, and government has been endeavouring to give ſome ſtability to this new channel of wealth. It has eſtabliſhed ſome poſts along the coaſt, and fortified St. Catherine.

Bequia

THIS iſland, which is only parted from the continent by a very ſmall canal, is about nine leagues long and two leagues broad. Though the land is not low, it is not ſeen at a diſtance, becauſe it is ſhaded by the neighbouring mountains on the continent. Navigators find there a perpetual ſpring, excellent water, great plenty of wood, a variety of delicious fruits, vegetables which are ſo welcome to ſailors, and a pure air, except in the harbour, where the hills intercept the circulation of air, and make it conſtantly damp and unwholeſome.

A HUNDRED and fifty or two hundred banditti, who had fled to this iſland towards the beginning of this century, acknowledged the authority of Portugal, but did not allow of any excluſive right. They admitted indiſcriminately the ſhips of all nations that were ſailing to the South Seas, and gave them the produce of their iſland in exchange for arms, brandy, linen and wearing apparel. Beſides their contempt for gold, they ſhewed an indifference for all the conveniencies that nature did not afford them, which would have done honour to virtuous men.

THE ſcum and refuſe of poliſhed ſocieties may ſometimes produce a decent and well-regulated ſociety. The iniquity of our laws, the unjuſt diſtribution of property, the miſeries of want, the inſolence and impunity of wealth, and the abuſe of power, often makes rebels and criminals. If we collect together all thoſe poor wretches who are turned out of ſociety by the too great rigor and often

often the injuſtice of the laws; and give them an intrepid, generous, humane and ſenſible chief; we ſhall make theſe profligate men become honeſt, tractable and rational. If their neceſſities urge them to war, they will be conquerors; and to aggrandize themſelves, they will violate the rights of nations, though ſtrict obſervers of their own laws: ſuch were the Romans of old. If for want of an able leader, they are left to chance and natural events, they will be miſchievous, reſtleſs, rapacious, unſettled, for ever at war, either amongſt themſelves or with their neighbours: ſuch were the inhabitants of St. Paul. Laſtly, if they can more eaſily live upon the natural fruits of the earth, or by agriculture and trade, than by plunder; they will contract the virtues proper to their ſituation, and the gentleneſs that ariſes from a rational love of eaſe. Civilized by the happineſs and ſecurity of an honeſt and peaceable life, they will reſpect in others thoſe rights which they themſelves enjoy, and will barter the ſuperfluities of their produce, for the conveniencies of other nations: ſuch were the people of St. Catherine.

BANISHED from their native country by the dread of thoſe grievous puniſhments too often inflicted on ſlight offences, they formed a commercial ſettlement, which was beneficial to the very country that had rejected them. About the year 1738, the crown ſent them a governor, and fortified their harbour. As it is far ſuperior to any on that coaſt, it is eaſy to foreſee that, if the riches of thoſe parts anſwer the expectation of Portugal, that rendezvous of vagabonds will in time become the chief colony of the Brazils, and the moſt conſiderable ſea-port in all South America.

Means employed to revive agriculture in the Brazils, which was abandoned for the mines.

IT appears from this account, that the court of Liſbon has taken the moſt prudent meaſures to ſecure the produce of the mines. They have not paid the ſame attention to the culture of lands, nor has that point been ſo well ſettled; yet that ineſtimable ſource of

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riches was then in a critical ſituation that required mature conſideration.

ALL the European nations that had ſettlements in America, began to cultivate the ſame productions that had long enriched the Brazils. This competition had reduced the price of thoſe commodities; and the Portugueſe laboured as much as ever, while their profits grew conſtantly leſs. Their labours grew irkſome, and many entirely quitted them, tempted by the hopes of enriching themſelves by picking up gold. Had the mother country underſtood her true intereſt, and been leſs elated with this new vein of riches, the misfortunes conſequent upon it, might have been prevented. This might eaſily have been done, by taking off the enormous duties which the colonies paid for all the goods they exported or imported; and rather, if it was found neceſſary, allowing a bounty, which her new treaſures enabled her to do with a liberal hand. This would have been an encouragement to the planter, who knew his ſoil to be far ſuperior to that of the Leeward iſlands, and was not ignorant of the other advantages he had over them, to perſevere in a labour which muſt procure him a comfortable ſubſiſtence, if not an ample fortune, without any anxiety or uncertainty.

ALL who have attentively obſerved America, know that the coaſts of Brazil are very fertile. Their ſugar-canes are ſtronger than thoſe of the rival colonies, and other productions have the ſame ſuperiority. They are not reduced to the neceſſity of manuring a poor or an exhauſted ſoil. They have ſuch plenty of land, that when one piece of ground is ſpent, they can take a freſh one, that will yield plentiful crops without much trouble. The inland parts only want hands to till them, and many navigable rivers are ready to convey their produce to the ſea. The plantations are never deſtroyed by hurricanes, or parched with drought. There are few

ſituations in the Brazils where the labours of the field are interrupted by the inclemency of the weather, and none where the inhabitants are ſwept away by that dreadful mortality, ſo frequent in many parts of America. The ſlave does not impatiently expect his ſubſiſtence from abroad, or wait till it is wafted over ſtormy ſeas, and then find it at ſuch an immoderate price, that he cannot always procure a ſufficiency. He finds without much trouble a wholeſome and plentiful proviſion, growing out of the ground he digs. All the labours are performed with eaſe by the help of the innumerable herds that graze on the meadows. The maſter, on his part, can be under no apprehenſion of ſeeing an end to his good fortune, as he well knows that the colony has not yet attained to a tenth of its culture. They already employ 150,000 blacks, which are annually recruited by 7 or 8000, and may eaſily be multiplied. As it is cuſtomary for the planter to import them directly from Africa, he has nothing to fear from the negligence, unſkilfulneſs or diſhoneſty of the European merchants. Their ſhips have the double advantage of making a ſmall ſtay at the end of their voyage, and of a ſhort and eaſy paſſage both going and coming.

NOTWITHSTANDING all this, the culture of Brazil produced but 22,000,000 weight of raw ſugar, 11 or 12,000 bales of tobacco, a little ſarſaparilla, cocoa, coffee, rice and indigo; to which were added ſome whalebone, woods for dying, building, and cabinet-work, and 14 or 15,000 hides.

AMONG all the methods for increaſing the produce of ſo rich a country, the Portugueſe miniſtry have given the preference to the freedom of the Brazilians, as being the ſafeſt, the cheapeſt, and the kindeſt. They declared in 1755, that for the future, all the ſubjects of the crown, whether they were ſo by their own free will or by compulſion, ſhould be deemed citizens to all intents

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tents and purpoſes, and ſhould be entitled to that appellation on the ſame terms as the Europeans. No other power has treated its American ſubjects with ſo much humanity. This ſingular circumſtance, though ſo ſtriking, has not even been taken notice of. Every one is intent upon politics, war, pleaſure, or fortune. A revolution ſo favourable to humanity, eſcapes every eye, even in the middle of the eighteenth century, in this enlightened and philoſophical age. The public welfare is much talked of, but it is not ſeen, it is not felt.

PORTUGAL would be revenged of this indifference, if the new ſyſtem had produced the deſired effect. We ſhould ſee the Brazilians applying themſelves to the culture of their lands, and multiplying their produce. Their labour would enable them to procure numberleſs comforts which they never enjoyed. The ſight of their happineſs would tempt the ſavages to quit their foreſts, and to embrace a more quiet way of life. By degrees, the influence of their example would ſpread, and in time, all Brazil would be civilized. A mutual confidence would be eſtabliſhed between the Americans and the Europeans, and they would become but one nation. All would concur in producing the ſtock of an immenſe trade to the mother country, which on her part would take care to ſend a conſtant ſupply for the growing conſumption of the colony. An exact balance would be kept up between their reciprocal intereſts, and great care would be taken that nothing ſhould interrupt ſo valuable a harmony. The Portugueſe would at laſt, by one act of humanity, have made amends for all the miſchief they have done to the inhabitants of America.

UNFORTUNATELY theſe fair proſpects are come to nothing. In order to entertain any rational hopes of ſucceſs, this great change ſhould have been brought on by ſlow degrees. The Brazilians might inſenſibly have been induced to a reliſh for the ſweets of ſociety; they might

might have been trained up to useful labours; they would gradually have got the better of their natural laziness, and been prompted to wish for property. The way being thus prepared for a happy revolution, much would still have remained to be done, which seems to have escaped the penetration of the ministry. They have not granted lands to the naturalized subjects in convenient places. They have not provided them with the necessary stock to begin with. They have not had able guides to direct them; nor have their chiefs been men of integrity and humanity. Nothing, therefore, has been done for the public good, by giving civil liberty to the Brazilians; and much has been done against it, by abridging the Europeans of their freedom, in subjecting them to the tyrannical monopoly of an exclusive privilege. Nobody had foreseen, or even suspected, a regulation so contrary to the genius of the nation. BOOK IX.

Monopolies established for the trade of Brazil.

PORTUGAL has made immense discoveries in Africa, and in the East and West Indies, without the assistance of any company. Mere societies of merchants, in which kings, princes, and noblemen were concerned, fitted out large fleets for those three parts of the world, raised the Portuguese name above all others, and brought about the most important and most interesting commercial revolution the world had ever experienced. It was not to be expected that a nation, which, in the barbarous ages, had pursued the inestimable advantages of competition, would at last, in an enlightened age, adopt a pernicious system, which, by collecting the principles of life and motion into a small part of the body politic, leaves nothing in all the rest but languor and death.

THIS system was formed among the ruins of Lisbon, when the earth had as it were cast out her inhabitants, and left them no safety but on the sea or in the other hemisphere. The dreadful shocks that had thrown down that stately capital still continued, and the flames that had

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had reduced it to aſhes were ſcarce extinguiſhed, when an excluſive company was eſtabliſhed, for the purpoſe of ſelling the wine ſo well known by the name of Port, which is drank in many of the colonies, in part of the north, and chiefly in England. The city of Oporto, the firſt in the kingdom for population, riches and buſineſs ſince the fall of Liſbon, juſtly took the alarm, as thinking her trade was going to be ruined by this fatal alienation of the rights of the whole nation, in favour of a private aſſociation. The province between the Douro and the Minho, the moſt fruitful in the kingdom, could no longer depend upon her culture. The people grew deſperate, and then ſeditious, and their ſedition made the government cruel. Twelve hundred perſons were either executed, condemned to hard labour, baniſhed to the forts in Africa, or reduced to beggary by the confiſcation of their goods. The monopoly which had occaſioned all this miſchief, ſtill went on, and continues to this day, attended with all that train of calamities which were foreſeen, even by thoſe who are leaſt converſant in political ſpeculation.

THAT fatal experiment, which ought to have been a warning to the miniſtry, made no impreſſion upon them. They had already, ever ſince the 6th of June 1755, created the Maragnan company; and, far from receding, they erected the Fernambucca company, four years after, and thereby enſlaved all the northern part of Brazil. The ſtock of the firſt company conſiſted of 1200 ſhares, and the other of 3400. Their charter is for twenty years, and foreigners ſettled in Portugal may become proprietors. They exerciſe the moſt horrid tyranny over the immenſe coaſt that has been made over them. This attempt upon liberty and property has excited a violent ſpirit of animoſity, which is conſtantly kept up by a viſible diminution of commodities.

We

WE are ignorant of the reasons that have induced the court of Lisbon to take so unpopular a step, which has given offence to all orders of the state, and all parts of the monarchy. It was pretended that it was done to prevent the contraband trade; but that could never be the only motive for so tyrannical a measure. Exclusive companies are more likely to increase than to check the contraband trade; and besides, it is well known that none is carried on in the south of Brazil, the only part that is affected by the monopoly. The only foreign connections this part of America has, are the dealings of St. Catherine with the ships that frequent the South Seas, and those of Rio-Janeiro with ships of different nations, which, under various pretences, put in there on their way to and from the East Indies.

WHATEVER may have given rise to charter companies, we may venture to affirm that among the powers of Europe, Portugal has not been the greatest loser by this absurd system. That kingdom has adopted the fatal custom of being a bare spectator of the trade that is carried on in its own colonies. So singular an infatuation is come on by degrees.

Causes of the decay of Portugal, and of its colonies.

THE first conquests of the Portuguese in Africa and Asia, did not stifle the seeds of their industry. Though Lisbon was the general warehouse for India goods, her own silken and woollen manufactures still went on, and were sufficient for the consumption of the mother country and of Brazil. The national activity extended to every thing, and made some amends for the want of population, which was daily increasing. Amongst the many calamities that Spanish tyranny brought upon the kingdom, the Portuguese could not complain of a cessation of labour at home; nor was the number of trades much lessened when they recovered their liberty.

THE happy revolution that placed the Duke of Braganza upon the throne, was the period of that decay.

The

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The people grew enthuſiaſts. Some croſſed the ſeas, to go and defend diſtant poſſeſſions againſt an enemy whom they imagined more formidable than he really was. The reſt took up arms to cover the frontiers. Private intereſt was ſilenced by the intereſt of the whole, and every patriot was ſolicitous for his country alone. It might naturally be expected that when the firſt heat was over, every one would reſume his uſual employment; but unfortunately the cruel war which followed that great event, was attended with ſuch devaſtations in an open country, that the people choſe rather not to work at all, than expoſe themſelves to ſee the fruit of their labours continually deſtroyed. The miniſtry favoured this inaction by the meaſures they took, which were highly blameable.

Their ſituation put them under a neceſſity of forming alliances. Political reaſons ſecured to them all the enemies of Spain. The advantages they reaped from the diverſion made in Portugal, could not but attach them to her intereſt. If the new court had formed ſuch extenſive views as their proceedings ſeemed to indicate, they would have known that they had no need to make any conceſſions in order to ſecure friends. By an ill judged precipitation, they ruined their affairs. They gave up their trade to other powers, who were almoſt as much intereſted in its preſervation as they were themſelves. This infatuation made thoſe powers imagine they might venture any thing, and they accordingly ſtretched their privileges that had been granted them, far beyond what was intended. The induſtry of the Portugueſe was deſtroyed by this competition, but was again excited by an error of the French miniſtry.

France, who then had but a little bad tobacco, and no ſugar at all, in 1644, without any apparent reaſon, prohibited the importation of ſugar and tobacco from Brazil. Portugal, in return, prohibited the importation of

of all French manufactures, the only ones they valued at that time. Genoa immediately ſeized upon the ſilk trade, and has ingroſſed it ever ſince; but the nation, after ſome heſitation, began in 1681 to manufacture their own woollen goods; and having ſeduced ſome Engliſh artificers, were enabled, in 1684, to prohibit ſeveral kinds of cloth, and ſoon after all ſorts.

ENGLAND, which had advanced her own trade with Portugal upon the ruins of that of France, was much chagrined at the turn it had taken. For a long time, the Engliſh ſtrove to open the communication afreſh, and more than once they thought they had attained their end, but at laſt found themſelves further from it than ever. There was no knowing where all this would end, when a revolution happened in the political ſyſtem of Europe, that at once overturned all the former ideas.

A GRANDSON of Lewis XIV. was called to the throne of Spain. All nations were alarmed at this acceſſion of power to the houſe of Bourbon, which they already thought too powerful and too ambitious. Portugal in particular, who had always conſidered France as a faſt friend, now beheld in her an enemy who muſt wiſh, and, perhaps, promote her ruin. This induced her to apply for the protection of England, who never failed to turn every negociation to her own commercial advantage, and was far from neglecting this opportunity. The Engliſh ambaſſador Methuen, a profound and able negociator, ſigned a treaty, on the 27th of December 1703, by which the court of Liſbon engaged to permit the importation of all Britiſh woollen goods, on the ſame footing as before the prohibition, on condition that the Portugal wines ſhould pay a duty one third leſs than the French, on being imported into England.

THE advantages of this ſtipulation were very real for one of the parties, but by no means ſo for the other. England obtained an excluſive privilege for her manufactures,

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factures, as the prohibition remained in full force with regard to thoſe of other nations; but granted nothing on her ſide; having already ſettled, for her own intereſt, the very thing that ſhe artfully pretended to grant as a great favour. Since France bought no more cloths of the Engliſh, they had obſerved that the dearneſs of French wines was prejudicial to the balance of trade, and had endeavoured to leſſen the conſumption, by laying heavier duties upon them. They have again increaſed them from the ſame motive, and ſtill made a merit of it to the court of Liſbon, as being a proof of ſingular friendſhip. The Portugueſe manufactures fell, being unable to ſupport the competition of the Engliſh. Great Britain clothed her new ally, and as the wine, oil, ſalt, and fruit ſhe bought, was a trifle in compariſon to what ſhe ſold, it was made up with the gold of Brazil. The balance was more and more in favour of the Engliſh, and, indeed, it could not well be otherwiſe.

All who are converſant with the theory of commerce, or have attended to its revolutions, know that an active, rich and ſenſible nation, who have once got poſſeſſion of a capital branch of trade, will ſoon ingroſs the whole. They have ſo great an advantage over their competitors, that they weary them out, and make themſelves maſters of the countries where their induſtry is exerted. Thus it is that Great Britain has found means to ingroſs the whole produce of Portugal and her colonies.

The Engliſh find the Portugueſe in clothing, food, ſmall wares, materials for building, and all their articles of luxury, and return them their own materials manufactured. This employs a million of Engliſh artificers and huſbandmen.

They furniſh them with ſhips, and with naval and warlike ſtores for their ſettlements abroad, and carry on all their navigation at home.

They

THEY carry on the whole money trade of Portugal. They borrow money in London at three or three and a half per cent, and negociate it at Liſbon, where it is worth ten. In ten years time, the capital is paid by the intereſt, and ſtill remains due.

THEY ingroſs all the inland trade. There are Engliſh houſes ſettled at Liſbon which receive all the commodities of their own country, and diſtribute them to merchants, who diſpoſe of them in the provinces, moſtly for the profit of their employers. A ſmall allowance is the only reward of their induſtry, to the diſgrace of a nation who is mean enough to work at home for the profit of another.

THEY carry off even the commiſſion trade. The fleets deſtined for the Brazils are the ſole property of the Engliſh. The riches they bring home are all their own. They will not even ſuffer them to paſs through the hands of the Portugueſe, and only borrow their name, becauſe they cannot do without it. Theſe foreigners diſappear as ſoon as they have got the fortune they intended, and leave that nation impoveriſhed and exhauſted, at whoſe expence they have enriched themſelves. It is demonſtrable from the regiſters of the fleets, that in the ſpace of ſixty years, that is, from the diſcovery of the mines to the year 1756, 2,400,000,000 livres [y] worth of gold has been brought away from Brazil, and yet it is fact that in 1754, all the caſh in Portugal amounted to no more than 15 or 20,000,000 [z], and at that time the nation owed 72,000,000 [a]; ſo that Portugal muſt have been in a dreadful ſituation.

BUT what Liſbon has loſt, London has gained. England, by her natural advantages, was only intended for a ſecondary power. Though the changes that had ſucceſſively happened in the religion, government, and in-

y 105,000,000l. z On an average not much more than 750,000l.

a 3,150,000l.

duſtry

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dustry of the English had improved their condition, increased their strength, and unfolded their genius, they could not possibly act a capital part. They knew by experience that the means which, in ancient governments, could raise a nation to any pitch, when without any connection with its neighbours, it emerged singly out of nothing, were inadequate in modern times, when the intercourse of nations made the advantages of each common to all, and thereby left to numbers and strength their natural superiority. Since soldiers, generals and nations fought for hire; since the power of gold opened every cabinets and made every treaty; England had learnt that the greatness of a state depended upon its riches, and that its political power was estimated by its millions. This truth, which must have alarmed the ambition of the English, became favourable to them as soon as they had prevailed upon Portugal to depend on them for necessaries, and had bound them by treaties to an impossibility of procuring them otherwise. Thus was that kingdom made dependent on a false friend for food and raiment. These were, to borrow the expression of a certain politician, like two anchors which the Britons had fastened upon that empire. They went further still: they made the Portuguese lose all regard, all weight, all influence in the general system of affairs, by persuading them to have neither forces nor alliances. Trust to us, said the English, for your safety; we will negociate and fight for you. Thus, without bloodshed or labour, and without any of the calamities that attend conquest, they made themselves more effectually masters of Portugal than the Portuguese were of the mines of Brazil.

Every thing is connected together, both in nature and in politics. It is hardly possible that a nation should lose its agriculture and its industry, without a visible decay of the liberal arts, letters, sciences, and all the sound principles of government and administration. Portugal

is a melancholy inſtance of this truth. Since Great Britain has condemned that people to a ſtate of inaction, they are fallen into ſuch barbariſm as is hardly credible. That light which has ſhone all over Europe, ſeems to have ſtopped at the Pyrenees. They have gone backward, and have incurred the contempt of ſurrounding nations, after having excited their emulation and provoked them to jealouſy. The advantage of having enjoyed excellent laws, whilſt all other ſtates groaned under horrible confuſion, hath availed them nothing. They have loſt the turn of their genius, by forgetting the principles of reaſon, morality, and politics. The efforts they might make to emerge from this ſtate of languor and blindneſs, may, poſſibly, prove ineffectual; becauſe good reformers are not eaſily to be found in that nation which ſtands moſt in need of them. Men who are qualified to change the face of empires, commonly come from far, and ſeldom ſtart up at once. They generally have their forerunners, who awaken the minds of the people, diſpoſe them to receive the light, and prepare the neceſſary inſtruments for bringing about a great revolution. As there is no appearance of any ſuch preparatory ſteps in Portugal, it is to be feared the nation muſt ſtill continue in this humiliating condition, unleſs they will adopt the maxims of more enlightened ſtates, making the proper allowances for their ſituations, and call in the aſſiſtance of foreigners capable of directing them.

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Means of reſtoring Portugal and its colonies.

The firſt ſtep towards their recovery, that leading one without which all the reſt would be unſteady, uncertain, and even dangerous, would be to ſhake off the Engliſh yoke. Portugal in her preſent ſituation, cannot do without foreign commodities; therefore, it is her intereſt to promote the greateſt competition of ſellers ſhe poſſibly can, in order to reduce the price of what ſhe muſt needs buy. As it is no leſs the intereſt of the Portugueſe to diſpoſe of the overplus of their own produce

duce, and that of their colonies, they ought, for the same reason, to invite as many buyers as possible to their harbours, to enhance the price and increase the quantity of their exports. This oeconomical system will certainly admit of no objection.

By the treaty of 1703, the Portuguese are only bound to permit the importation of woollen goods from England on the terms stipulated before the prohibition. Now they might safely grant the same privilege to other nations, without incurring the blame of having broken their engagements. A liberty granted to one nation was never interpreted as an exclusive and perpetual privilege, than could oblige the prince who granted it to the right of extending it to other nations. He is the undoubted judge of what suits the interests of his kingdom. We cannot easily guess what rational objection a British minister could make to the king of Portugal who should tell him, I will encourage merchants to come to my dominions, where they will find my subjects more sharp and cheaper than you, and will take the produce of my colonies, whereas you will take nothing but gold.

We may judge of the effect this wise measure would have, by what has happened, independent of this spirited resolution. Portugal receives annually to the value of seventy millions in foreign commodities, which she pays for in the produce of her land, and in gold and diamonds, or remains debtor. The allurement of the gain of thirty-five per cent. which is no uncommon thing in this trade, induces all nations to be concerned in it as much as possible; nor are they deterred from it by the well-grounded fear of being never paid, or at last very late. Most of them have been successful in their endeavours. France and Italy have engrossed one third of those imports. Holland, Hamburgh, and almost all the north carry off as much; and England, which formerly absorbed almost the whole, comes in for the remainder.

maining third. It appears from the registers of the customs, that in the space of five years, from 1762 to 1766 inclusively, England has sent goods to Portugal, only to the value of 95,613,547 livres 10 sous [b]; and has received commodities to the amount of 37,761,075 livres [c]; so that the balance in money has been but 57,692,475 livres [d].

WHAT deceives all Europe as to the extent of the English trade, is that all the gold of Brasil is conveyed by the road of the Thames. That influx seems to be a natural and necessary consequence of the business carried on by that nation. But the truth is, that metals are not allowed to go out of Portugal, and, therefore, can only be brought away by men of war, which are not liable to be searched; that Great Britain sends two every week, as regularly as the sea will permit, and that these ships bring the riches of all nations into their island, whence the merchants dispersed in the several countries draw them off, either in kind or by bills of exchange, paying one per cent.

THE British ministry, who are not the dupes of these dazzling appearances, and are but too sensible of the decay of this most valuable trade, have for some time past taken incredible pains to restore it to its former state. Their endeavours will never succeed, because this is one of those events which are not within the reach of political wisdom. If the evil arose from favours granted to rival nations, or if England had been debarred from her former privileges, well conducted negociations might set all right again. But this is not the case. The court of Lisbon has invariably pursued the same track, both with regard to Great Britain and to all other nations. Her subjects have had no other inducement to give the preference to the commodities brought from all parts of Europe,

[b] 4,183,092 l. 14 s. 0 d. ½.
[c] 1,652,047 l. 0 s. 7 d. ½.
[d] 2,524,845 l. 15 s. 7 d. ½.

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than that those of their old friends were so loaded with taxes, that they bore an exorbitant price. The Portuguese will get many articles cheaper still, whenever their government shall establish a perfect equality in their ports for all nations.

THE court of Lisbon, after removing in some measure the disadvantages of their passive trade, should endeavour to make it active. Their own inclination, the taste of the age, and the desire of fame, seem to incline them to give the preference to manufactures. A tolerable quantity of coarse woollen stuffs are already wove in the inland provinces, though the wool is too short, and might be better employed to other purposes. Government has silk manufactures at Lisbon and at Lamego, which cost more than they are worth. If they do not weave gold or silver, it is because the wear of them is strictly prohibited, both at home and abroad. We have shewn above that this kind of industry is not fit for Spain; and for the same reasons it is unfit for Portugal. They ought rather to think of encouraging agriculture.

THE climate is favourable to silk, of which there was formerly great plenty. The baptized Jews made it their business to breed worms and to prepare the silk, till they were persecuted by the inquisition, which was still more severe and more powerful under the house of Braganza, than it had ever been under the Spanish dominion. Most of the artificers fled to the kingdom of Valencia, and those who chose to sell their industry, removed with their effects to England and Holland, which improved the activity of both those countries. This dispersion was the ruin of the silk trade in Portugal, so that no trace of it is now to be seen; but it might be resumed.

THE next cultivation that ought to be attended to, is that of the olive tree. It now exists, and constantly supplies all that is wanted for home consumption, besides

these a small quantity every year for exportation; but this is not sufficient. Portugal might easily enter into an open competition with the nations that make the greatest profit of that commodity, which is wholly confined to the southern provinces of Europe.

THEIR wool is likewise capable of improvement. Though it is inferior to that of Spain, the French, the Dutch, and even the English, buy up twelve or thirteen thousand quintals every year, and would buy more, if it were to be had in all markets. All who have travelled through Portugal, with that spirit of observation, which enables men to form a right judgment of things, are of opinion that double the quantity might be obtained, without injuring the other branches of industry, and that on the contrary it might tend to their improvement.

THAT of salt seems to have been more attended to. The north annually takes off 150 tons, which may cost 1,500,000 livres *. It is corrosive, and lessens the weight and the taste of meats; but it preserves fish and flesh longer than French salt. This property will occasion a greater demand for it, as navigation grows more extensive.

WE cannot take upon us to promise the same success with regard to their wines. They are so indifferent, that it is surprising how so many nations in Europe could ever think of making them their constant drink. It is still more surprising how the Portuguese ministry could ever make such an ill use of their authority, as to impede so profitable a culture. The order for rooting up the vines could only be dictated by private interest or false views. The pretence for so extraordinary a law is so absurd, that no body has given credit to it. It is very well known that the ground where the vines have stood, can never be fit for the culture of corn.

* About 65,690 l.

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BUT, if the thing were ever ſo practicable, it would ſtill be an unwarrantable infringement of the ſacred and unalienable right of property. In a monaſtery indeed, every thing belongs to all; nothing is the property of any individual, but the joint property of the whole community; it is one ſingle animal with twenty, thirty, forty, a thouſand, ten thouſand heads. But it is not the ſame in ſociety. Here every ſingle head has its property, a ſhare of the general wealth, which he is abſolute maſter of, and which he is free to uſe, or even to abuſe, as he thinks proper. A private man muſt be at liberty to let his ground lie fallow, if it ſuits him, without the intervention of adminiſtration. If government ſets up for a judge of the abuſe, it will ſoon ſet up for a judge of the uſe of things; and then there is an end of all true notions of liberty and property. If it can require me to employ my own property according to its fancy, if it inflicts puniſhments on my diſobedience, my negligence or my folly, and that under pretence of public utility, I am no longer abſolute maſter of my own, I am only an adminiſtrator, who is to be directed by the will of another. The man who lives in ſociety, muſt in this reſpect be left at liberty to be a bad citizen, becauſe he will ſoon be ſeverely puniſhed by poverty, and by contempt, which is worſe than poverty. He who burns his own corn, or throws his money away, is ſuch a fool as is ſeldom met with, and, therefore, ought not to be reſtrained by prohibitive laws, which would be bad in themſelves, as being an attack upon the univerſal and ſacred notion of property. In every well regulated conſtitution, the buſineſs of the magiſtrate muſt be confined to what concerns the public ſafety, inward tranquillity, the conduct of the army, and the obſervance of the laws. Wherever authority is ſtretched beyond this mark, we may venture to affirm that the people are expoſed to depredation.

predation. If we take a ſurvey of all ages and all nations, that great and fine idea of public utility will preſent itſelf to our imagination under the ſymbolical figure of a Hercules, knocking down with his club one part of the people, amidſt the ſhouts and acclamations of the other part, who know not that they are quickly to fall under the ſame ſtrokes.

To return to Portugal; that country ſtands in need of other meaſures than have hitherto been purſued to reſtore the moſt important of its cultures. It is in ſo languid a ſtate, that the Portugueſe annually import three fourths of the corn they conſume. It is well known, that before they had applied themſelves to navigation, they ſupplied great part of the Mediterranean with corn, and ſometimes England itſelf. Their own wants now call for the exertion of their activity. Nothing but a total impoſſibility can juſtify a government, that ſuffers both the mother country and her colonies to depend upon other nations for the common neceſſaries of life.

The court of Liſbon would be very dangerouſly miſtaken in imagining that time alone may bring about ſo great a revolution. It concerns them to prepare the way, by leſſening the duties, and eſpecially by diminiſhing the expence of raiſing them, which is ſometimes more oppreſſive than the duty itſelf. When this impediment is removed, all kinds of encouragement muſt be given. One of the moſt fatal prejudices, and moſt deſtructive of the happineſs of men and the proſperity of nations, is that of ſuppoſing that hands alone are wanting to cultivate the ground. The experience of all ages has ſhewn, that much muſt be given to the earth, before much can be required of her. There are not, perhaps, in all Portugal, twenty farmers who are able to advance the neceſſary ſums. Government muſt, therefore, aſſiſt them. A revenue of about forty-four millions,

f 1,925,000 l.

and half of which comes from the mother country, and the rest from the colonies, will facilitate these operations, which are oftentimes more oeconomical than the most frugal avarice.

The firſt change will be productive of others. The arts neceſſary for culture will infallibly riſe and grow up with it. Induſtry will ſpread by degrees, and put forth all its branches, and Portugal will no longer exhibit an inſtance of a ſavage people in the midſt of civilized nations. The citizen will no longer be forced to devote himſelf to celibacy, or to go abroad for employment. Commodious houſes will riſe out of ruins; and workſhops take place of convents. Now, like thoſe ſhrubs that lie ſcattered and lowly creep on the ground that covers the richeſt mines, the ſubjects of this drooping ſtate, will no longer ſtarve, with their golden rivers and mountains. Gold and ſilver will circulate again, and will no longer be buried in churches. Superſtition will be at an end, together with lazineſs, ignorance and dejection. The minds of men, who now divide their time between debauchery and pious expiations of it, who are fond of miracles and magic arts, will then be inflamed with public ſpirit. The nation freed from its fetters, and reſtored to its natural activity, will exert itſelf with a ſpirit worthy of its former exploits.

PORTUGAL will then remember, that ſhe was indebted to her navy for her opulence, her glory, and her ſtrength, and will attend to the reſtoration of it. It will no longer be reduced to eighteen men of war, ill built, and ill manned and armed, and about a hundred merchant-men, from ſix to eight hundred tons burden, ſtill more wretchedly fitted out. Her population, which has inſenſibly ſunk from three millions of ſouls to eighteen hundred thouſand, will revive to cover her harbours and roads with active fleets. The reviſal of her navy, no doubt, will be difficult for a power whoſe flag is not known on any of

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the European ſeas, and who, for a century paſt, has given up her navigation to whoever would undertake it; but a government once grown wiſe, will ſurmount every obſtacle. When once they have recovered their proper ſhare of navigation, they will keep immenſe ſums in the nation, which are conſtantly expended for freight.

THIS change will influence the iſlands dependent on Portugal. The port of Madeira will no longer be open to the Engliſh. The mother country will have the ſole power of diſpoſing of twenty-five or thirty thouſand pipes of rich wine which that iſland produces. It will be in the roads of Liſbon and Oporto that all nations will fetch that choice liquor, which is in ſuch requeſt in the four quarters of the globe. The Azores will furniſh Portugal with corn for the plough and for food, which cannot ſo well be bred at home, on account of the dryneſs of the ſoil; and the Cape de Verd iſlands will ſupply them with more mules than they want. The New England people formerly fetched them thence to carry to the Leeward iſlands; but a great mortality that happened in 1780, put an end to that trade. The vacancies will ſoon be filled up, by a cloſe attention to the breeding of this cattle.

THESE alterations will be productive of ſtill more material ones. Brazil, which has no other fault than that of being too large for Portugal; which has only a few habitations ſcattered along the ſea coaſts; and has no other coloniſts in the inland parts, but what are employed in the mines, will then aſſume a new face; their government will be new modelled. Their maſters will be convinced how great a miſtake has been committed with regard to all the modern nations, by transferring to the new diſcovered world all the abſurdities of feudal government, accumulated on the old through a long ſeries of ages. A few plain laws will be ſubſtituted

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the place of the subtle arts of thieving, which are its boast, than guilty plots on tyranny, and an increase of oppressions.

The execution of these laws will be facilitated, if all employments are not sold, and if a proper choice is made, and good governors appointed to command Para, Bahia and Rio Janeiro, who shall be independent on each other, though the latter has the title of viceroy. The vigilance of the three chiefs will put an end to the villainies and enormities which the Brazilian Portuguese have too long been guilty of, or caused their slaves to commit.

HAVING thus reformed their manners, the next step will be to regulate their administration. The tyranny of courts being once removed, and every one left at liberty to send out ships from the mother country, this section will be attended with other favourable innovations. Expeditions will not be confined to the roads of Lisbon and Oporto, because as the other ports bear their part in the public expence, it is but fit they should enjoy the same advantages. Exclusive companies will be abolished. That load of taxes, which is the bane of Europe, will no longer afflict the Brazils. The colony will not be devoured with that swarm of contractors, who are the ruin of the most successful labours. The mother country will be convinced that she has no right to demand any thing of her colonies but their produce. This produce itself will not at first be impeded by encumbrances that stop its circulation. Gold, that ensign of all riches, that choicest commodity of Brazil, freed from the fetters that obstructed its progress, will freely flow into all countries which have any thing to offer in return. Dutch, French, and English men of war, need not then lend their flag to smuggle it out.

AGRICULTURE, ennobled by liberty, will shake off the yoke of oppression, the consequence of ignorance, avarice, and despotism. The means of improvement will

chilysis trade. The Portuguese, who first opened Africa to civilized nations, have, notwithstanding their decay, preserved some considerable advantages in that country. They possess large colonies on the best coast for the slave trade, whilst the rival nations have only small factories, and some have none at all. By that means, they get their negroes one third cheaper than they are to be had in the ports where there is a competition; so that the Brazils will certainly take a great many more, when once the duty is taken off, which is now ten per cent. upon the heads of these unhappy Africans, as it is upon all commodities that come from Europe. The mother country will give a further encouragement to this trade, since after all, ambition will carry it on against the imputations of humanity, by permitting the colony to make their own salt, instead of sending for it from Portugal, as they are now compelled to do. This will facilitate the victualling of their ships, by adding salt beef and pork to their provision, which hitherto has been only smoked and dried fish. Then, instead of thirty or forty ships, from sixty to a hundred tons burden, which are annually fitted out, they will fit out a hundred, and in time many more if they chuse it.

This improvement might be hastened, by permitting a direct navigation from the Brazils to the East Indies. This trade peculiarly suits Portugal; and it would be good policy to extend it as much as possible. As the Portuguese neither have nor can have any manufactures of their own, they ought to give the preference to the lightest and cheapest linens and stuffs, which are most suitable to their own climate and that of their colonies, and absolutely necessary for their African settlements. The mother country would be no loser by allocating Brazil to this branch of industry. They cannot have forgot that they formed a company in 1723, which did not succeed. From that time, only one ship has been fitted

[illegible] which for a long while put on Europe's market cotton from Asia, and for some years past, called for reinforcements at Angola, by order of the government to which it belongs. Many others would be sent from Brazil. Their contraband trade with Buenos Ayres would supply them with pistres for their traffic, and the Amazon with part of the materials for navigation. The banks of that immense river abound with excellent wood. It is known to be very lasting; the worm, that scourge of the navy, never gets at it, and the scurvy never appears on board the ships that are made of it. The difficulty of getting hemp or flax is already removed. Two plants have been discovered, which grow in great plenty in the forests about Bahia, called *Grauata* and *Tucum*, which make very good thread for coarse linen, sail-cloth and ropes. Unfortunately a private man in the neighbourhood has got a patent for fifteen years for the sole working of it.

An infallible way to the speedy attainment of these great ends would be to open the ports of Brazil to all nations. Such a liberty would give the colony that opulency which it never can acquire without it. The nations that would have dealings with them, would be interested in their prosperity and defence. They would be far more serviceable to the mother country, by the gradual increase of their customs than by a pernicious monopoly. Portugal that has no manufactures, must pursue a different system from the other powers in Europe, who have more goods than they want to supply their American settlements, and the very competition that might be prejudicial to them, will certainly be very advantageous to the Portuguese.

If the court of Lisbon does not determine for this scheme, which no doubt may be liable to some objections, it must at least repeal the law that forbids all foreigners settling in the Brasils. Not fifty years ago there were several English, Dutch, and French houses,

which industry encouraged every kind of labour. Far from driving them away by barbarously oppressing them, they ought to have been courted, and encouraged to settle there, and to engage others to follow their example. Not that, strictly speaking, there is a scarcity of white people in those vast regions. By a calculation that may be depended on, they amount to near 600,000. This is more than are to be found in any other colony; but the Creole Portuguese are so indolent, so corrupt, so passionately addicted to pleasure, that they are grown incapable of the smallest application to business. Perhaps, the only way to rouse this degenerate race, would be to set before their eyes some laborious men, and to allot them suitable parcels of land.

This might easily be done. On the banks of the most navigable rivers are large plains that belong to nobody, and might enrich any one who would take the pains to plough them up. Even by the sea side, it would be an easy matter to settle a good number of farmers. On the first discovery of that country, government had granted whole provinces to several noblemen, under the title of captainships; but has afterwards withdrawn these grants, and given them in exchange, titles, pensions, or other favours. By this means a vast domain is returned to the crown, which now lies waste, and might be usefully employed. An infinite number of English, French, and Dutch colonists, whose plantations are exhausted, and many Europeans who have the fashionable passion of wanting to make a fortune, would gladly remove thither with their industry and their whole stock.

By way of encouragement, they must be secured from the fury of the inquisition. That cruel tribunal has never, indeed, been erected in Brazil; but they have their emissaries there, who are worse, if possible, than themselves. It may be remembered, that from the year 1702 to

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to 1718, those infamous men sent over to Europe a prodigious number of priests, monks, and proprietors of land, and even negroes, whom they accused of Judaism. Those oppressions ruined agriculture to such a degree, that the fleets of 1724 and 1725 found no provisions there. In 1728, the government enacted that for the future, if any colonist was taken up by the holy office, his goods and chattels and his slaves should not be forfeited, and that his fortune should descend to his heirs. The mischief that was already done, could not be repaired by this decree, nor can mutual confidence be restored, till the authors of the disorders that have ruined the colony are recalled.

EVEN this will not be sufficient, without abridging the power of the clergy. Some states have been known to favour the corruption of priests, to weaken the ascendent that superstition gives them over the minds of the people. That this method is not always infallible, appears from what has passed in the Brazils, nor is this execrable policy reconcileable with the principles of morality. It would be safer and better to open the doors of the sanctuary to all the citizens without distinction. Philip II. when he became master of Portugal, enacted that they should be shut against all such whose blood was tainted with any mixture with Jews, heretics, negroes or Indians. This distinction has given a dangerous superiority to a set of men who were already too powerful. It has been abolished in the African settlements; why should it not be so in those of America? Why, after taking from the clergy the authority they derived from their birth, should they not be abridged of the power they assume on account of their riches.

SOME politicians have asserted, that no government ought ever to appoint a fixed income for the clergy, but that their spiritual services should be paid by those who have recourse to them. That this method would

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be a spur to their zeal and vigilance. That they would grow daily more expert in the cure of souls by experience, study, and application. These statesmen have been opposed by philosophers, who maintained that an oeconomy which would tend to increase the activity of the clergy, would be fatal to public tranquility; and that it was better to lull that ambitious body into idleness, than to give it new strength. They observe that churches and religious houses which have no settled income, are so many repositories of superstition, maintained at the expence of the lower class of people; where saints, miracles, relicks, and all the inventions with which imposture has loaded religion, are made. So that it would be a benefit to society, if the clergy had a stated provision; but so moderate as to restrain the ambition of the body and the number of its members. Poverty makes them fanatical; opulence independent; and both concur to render them seditious.

This was the opinion of a philosopher, who said to a great monarch, "There is a powerful body in your dominions, who have assumed a power of suspending the labour of your subjects, whenever they please to call them into their temples. This body is authorized to speak to them a hundred times a year, and to speak in the name of God. They tell them that the most powerful sovereign is no more in the sight of the supreme being than the meanest slave; and that as they are the organ of the maker of all things, they are to be believed in preference to the masters of the world. The consequences of such a system threaten the total subversion of society, unless the ministers of religion are made dependent on the magistrate; and they will never be effectually so, unless they hold their subsistence of him. This is the only way to establish a harmony between the oracles of heaven and the maxims of government. It is the business of

BOOK IX. of a prudent administration to bring this about without disturbances or commotions.

Till the court of Lisbon has attained this salutary end, all our projects of reformation will be to no purpose. The mischiefs of ecclesiastical government will still subsist, notwithstanding all endeavours to reform them. It must be brought to depend upon the magistrate, before the Portuguese who live in Brasil can dare to oppose its tyranny. It is even to be feared that the prejudices they have imbibed from a faulty and monastic education, may be too deeply rooted in their minds, to be ever eradicated. These improvements in knowledge seem to be reserved for the next generation. This revolution might be hastened by obliging the chief proprietors to send their children to Europe for education, and by putting the public schools upon a better footing in Portugal.

All ideas are easily impressed upon tender organs. The soul, without experience as without reflection, readily admits truth and falshood in matters of opinion, and equally adopts what is conducive or prejudicial to the public welfare. Young people may be taught to value or depreciate their own reason, to make use of it, or to neglect it, to consider it as their best guide, or to mistrust its powers. Fathers obstinately defend the absurdities they were taught in their infancy, their children will be as fond of the leading principles in which they have been brought up. They will bring home sound notions of religion, morality, administration, commerce, and agriculture. The mother country will confer places of trust on them alone. They will then exert the talents they have acquired, and the face of the colony will be quite changed. Writers who speak of her, will no longer lament the idleness, the ignorance, the blunders, the superstitions which have been the ground-work of her administration. History will no longer be the satire of this colony.

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The fear of incenſing Great Britain muſt not protract these happy alterations one ſingle moment. The motives which, perhaps, have prevented them hitherto are but prejudices, which will be removed upon the ſlighteſt examination. There are numberleſs political errors, which, once adopted, become principles. Such is the prevailing notion at the court of Liſbon, that the ſtate cannot exiſt or proſper, but by means of the Engliſh. They forget that the Portugueſe monarchy was formed without the help of other nations; that during the whole time of their quarrels with the Moors, they were ſupported by no foreign power; that their greatneſs had been increaſing for three centuries ſucceſſively, when they extended their dominion over Africa and both the Indies by their own ſtrength. All theſe great political revolutions were performed by the Portugueſe alone. Was it neceſſary then that this nation ſhould diſcover a great treaſure, and be a proprietor of rich mines, merely to ſuggeſt the idea of its being unable to ſupport itſelf? And the Portugueſe to be compared to thoſe upſtarts, whoſe heads are turned by the embarraſſment which their newly acquired riches occaſion?

No nation ought to ſubmit to be protected. If the people are wiſe, they will have forces relative to their ſituation; and will never have more enemies than they are able to withſtand. Unleſs their ambition is unbounded, they have allies, who, for their own ſake, will warmly ſupport their intereſt. This general truth is peculiarly applicable to thoſe nations that are poſſeſſed of mines. It is the intereſt of all other nations to keep well with them, and if there is occaſion for it, they will all unite for their preſervation. Let Portugal but hold the balance even between all the powers of Europe, and they will form an impenetrable barrier round her. England herſelf, though deprived of the preference ſhe has too long enjoyed, will ſtill ſupport a nation whoſe independence is eſſential to the balance of power in

Europe.

BOOK IX. Europe. All nations would quickly join in one common cause, if Spain should ever be so mad for conquest as to attempt any thing against Portugal. Never would the jealous, restless, and quick sighted policy of our age suffer all the treasures of the other hemisphere to be in the same hands, or that one house should be so powerful in America as to threaten the liberties of Europe.

This security, however, should not induce the court of Lisbon to neglect the means of their own preservation, as they did when they trusted to the British arms for their defence, or indolently rested on the supineness of their neighbours; when, destitute of land or sea forces, they were accounted as nothing in the political system, which is the greatest disgrace that can befal a nation. If they will regain the consequence they have lost, they must put themselves in such a posture as not to be afraid of war, and even to be the aggressor, if their rights or their safety should require it. It is not always an advantage to a nation to continue in peace, when all the rest are in arms. In the political as in the natural world, a great event will have very extensive effects. The rise or fall of one empire will affect all the rest. Even those which are furthest removed from the seat of war, are oftentimes the victims of their moderation or weakness. These maxims are applicable to Portugal, particularly at this juncture, when the example of her neighbours, the critical situation of her haughty allies, the solicitations of the powers who are jealous of her friendship, all in short calls upon her to rouze, and to exert herself.

If the Portuguese will not at length frequent the seas, where alone they can distinguish themselves, and whence they must derive their prosperity, if they do not shew their strength at the extremity of Europe, where nature has so happily placed them, their fate is decided, the monarchy is at an end. They will fall again into the chains they had

finding, for a moment, as a lion that should fall asleep at the door of his den after he had broken it open. The little circulation there is still within, would but indicate those feeble signs of life, which are the symptoms of approaching death. The few trifling regulations they might make from time to time, respecting the finances, the police, commerce, and the marine, whether at home or for the colonies, would be only palliatives, which, by concealing their situation, would render it the more dangerous.

It cannot be denied that Portugal has missed the fairest opportunity that ever could offer, of resuming her former splendour. It is not from politics alone that all revolutions arise. Some destructive phænomenon may change the face of an empire. The memorable earthquake of the first of November 1755, which overthrew the capital of Portugal, ought to have given a new birth to the kingdom. The ruin of a proud city is often the preservation of a whole state, as the opulence of one man may be the ruin of thousands. Piles of stone heaped upon one another might fall to pieces; effects, chiefly belonging to foreigners, might be destroyed; idle, debauched and corrupt men might be buried under heaps of rubbish, without affecting the public welfare. The earth, in a transient fit of rage, had only taken what it was able to restore; and the gulphs it opened under one city, were ready digged for the foundations of another.

A NEW state, a new people, might have been expected to rise out of those ruins. But as much as these great and uncommon starts of nature quicken great minds, so much do they depress those which are enervated by a long habit of ignorance and superstition. Government, which every where takes advantage of the credulity of the people, and which nothing can divert from the settled purpose of extending the boundaries of authority, became more encroaching at the very instant

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the nation grew more timorous. Men of hardened consciences oppressed those of a more tender cast; and the æra of this great phœnomenon proved that of an increase of slavery; a lamentable, but common effect of the catastrophes of nature, which generally lay men open to the artifices of the great, who are desirous to exert their power over them. It is on these occasions they find means to multiply acts of arbitrary power; whether those who govern, do really believe that the people were born to obey them, or whether they think that, by extending their own power, they increase the strength of the public. Those false politicians are not aware that with such principles, a state is like an over-strained spring, that will break at last, and recoil against the hand that bends it. The present situation of the continent of South America, but too plainly proves the justness of this comparison; let us now proceed to shew the effects of a different conduct in the American islands.

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